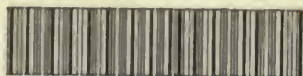


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KING PRESS NO. 303



My Lord I have sende to Sir M. J. [unclear]
and some further/ to wane the affection, the
ordre of the quene for satisfaction, the right forme
beside this to let you down how matters past
have send you a Tre of the y. Wotton to Sir ma,
her son. Fontaine for agents Tre to the king
the articles to be writ in her name. I desire
the things I have gth willingly I would let
you see, but in my absence it was hard to comit
them to the reception of any my servants: as for
this, it will please y^r L. Copie Tre and after
send Tre or deliver them to my self in my absence
I would have bin. Love to your good friends of this
to may M^r Siobhan.

I will requyre y^r L. Canst send me a copie of your
visions do. I am assured yth I live in fullness.

My father is comint to be in London the 22 before
the Comptrol, his inhabitation to all men in London, as
for the matter, he refused not, but the ordore was not
formally methe said the office, any draught nor suffici-
ent missive, as y^r L. will see. Therefore I pray
y^r L. send word that he be not further troubled
the receiving of the charge yth he will do willingly, he
being putted according to the act of parliament. I re-
maine as yet to y^r L. satisfaction.

He came a Tre of the king of France an other of
the D. of Guise to the king only for the favour.

I forgot when I directed my Son to write
to take the key of my Cabinet & to be Conf- I
did not see him of it, but it shall be at you in
Lyon or shortly after to you and also I am
glad to give you specimen. I think there is Expt.
1896

It will please you to
remember that the H.
of incorporation and Rinnar
variant to you.

Yours L. Loving Friend to
Sincerely
J. B. Gray

Remember is given to the Agent and delivered to
my self.

J. B. Loving Friend

My Lord Secretary to the
Hon.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,

AFTERWARDS

SEVENTH LORD GRAY.



EDINBURGH: M.DCCC.XXXV.

1835

THE EDINBURGH PRINTING COMPANY,
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THE following Collection of Letters and Papers relating to PATRICK MASTER of GRAY, afterwards SEVENTH LORD GRAY, was, in its present shape, ready for distribution among the Members of the Bannatyne Club more than five months ago. The distribution, however, was delayed from time to time, in the hope that the volume would be accompanied by a short Prefatory Notice, which, considering the quarter from which it was expected, could not fail to have added much to its value. But as there is now little hope of obtaining that very desirable accompaniment, it has been thought better to distribute the book, even in its present imperfect state, than to withhold it longer from the Members of the Club.

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THE BANNATYNE CLUB
BY
LORD GRAY.

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M.DCCC.XXXVI.

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LETTERS AND PAPERS
RELATING TO
PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

WILLIAM DAVISON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

SIR, the next day after my last dispatch, which was Wednesdai, his Maiefty came to this towne, and hath lodged since in the provostis house, by cause he ment not to tarry longer then this day. On Thursdai the Lordis of the Articles began to fitt, keeping the forme of ther last parliament, in swearing them at ther duty, not to reveale any thing till the Actis, which were before penned and resolued on by the direction of and counsaill of Arane and his Lady, who beare the sway in all their proceedingis, should be publiquely read in parliament; wheare no one Act was reasoned or voted, but concluded and passed *pleno iure*, to the generall offence and myslyk of all men: Of which Acts, with the names of such as are presently forfaultid, your honour shall herewith receaue the fowm. The old Countesse of Marr,² and the Lady Hume,³ the latter at the sute of the Master of Gray, are contynewed to the next Session, which is appointed the xxijth

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 84, fol. 97. Davison was, at this time, English envoy at the Scotch court.

² Anabella Murray, wife of John, fifth Earl of Marr. She had the charge of King James when an infant, which may, perhaps, account for the leniency shown to her on this occasion.

³ Agnes Gray, daughter of Patrick, fifth Lord Gray, and the aunt of the Master of Gray.

of September; but the rest of the poore ladies presently forfailed without respect or favour. The poore Countesse of Gowrye,¹ who, fence her husbandis death, is wasted with greif and affliction, mett the King in a lytter, beyond the water, in his coming hither warde, and falling downe before him, to moue his pity and compaffion towardis herself and her poore innocent children, hardly obteyned the heareing of the King, who departed and gave her no answer; and with what inhumanitye she hathe bene vsed since her coming to this towne, by such as haue bene instrumentis of all her woe and callamyty, I tak shame to wryte. The same day she first compeerid, she movid the most part of her judges to teares; but finding no grace, the next day, being the last of the parliament, she returned to the place, purposing to tarry his Maiesties coming, but commaundement being sent to the Constable in his highnes name, for her removing out of the howse, the poore lady, feing no other remedy, was compelled to obey it, and being ledd fourth into the open streat, stayed there his highnes passing by, which was on foot in respect of the nerenes of his lodging, where falling on her knees and beseching his Maiesties compaffion, Arane, going betwixt her and the King, led him hastily by her, and she reaching at his cloake to stay his Maiestie, Arane, putting her from him, did not only ouerthrow her, which was easy to do, in respect of the poore ladies weakenes, but marched ouer her, who, partly with extreme greif, and partly with weakenes, fowned presently in the open streat, and was fayn to be conveyed into one of the next howses, where with much adoe they recouered life of her; which inhumanity even their most affectionat frendis do vtterly condempne and crye shame of.

Amongst vthers appointed to be forfailed in this parliament, was the lard of Gartheland² in Galloway, for that his seruant lent, in his absence, a horse or two to therle of Marr, being in his journey out of Ireland towardis Sterling; but having paid to the Erle 1000^{lb} Scottissh for his compoficion, and given caution for 3000^{lb} more, which is to be answered to the Master of Marr, bestowid vpon him by the King, for his relief, he hath obteyned his pardon, though with much difficulty, bycause that booth

¹ Dorothea, second daughter of Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven.

² Uthred Macdowall of Garthland, elder.

fell not into the hands of my Lady¹ my commere,² who made her full accompt thereof. One Hamilton, gudman of the Haggis, being likewise fumonid, and to be forfaitid at this tyme, for a cause of lyk importaunce, hath made his compoficion with her for 3000^{lb} Scottifh, and procurid his exemptcion out of the fentence. And the reft, that are prefently contynewid to the next parliament, purpofely fpared, afwell in hope of lyk compoficion, be they neuer fo innocent, as for that they had no fufficient prooffe againft them at this tyme. She hath alfo, at this feflion, for the foume of 8000 merks Scottifh, procurid the reftoreing of the old Byfhopp of Dunkeld,³ an excomunycat and profefhed papift, and removid the other, with the fpeciall intereft of my Lord of Argyle, who had from him the moft part of the lyvingis of that byfhopruck in leafe. Of all which they take no fhame to profefe an open portfalue, no one day paffing ouer their heads, without feecking either land or money from fome one or other, to take them vnder their protection, which for gayne they spare not, be the cause right or wrong. The reft of thofe that be either continued or fumoned againft the next feflion, to be holden in September, do look for no juftice, but fuch as fhall be meafured out by the ell of my Lady Aranes confcience and good nature, who is lyke then to cary no leffe ftroke then at this tyme, bycaufe the King, who myndeth not to be prefent at it, hath appointed 4 of ech eftate to hold that feflion, and to proceed in the forfaicture, of which my Lord her husband, being ordinarily ftyled Chauncellour, is to prefide alone, fo as all men expect none other but juft and equall proceeding at the handis of fo equall and competent judgis.

As for other things, namely, touching the fucceffe of the late meeting on the Borders, I am acquainted with litle on the one fyde or other generally, albeyt not vtterly ignorant what paffeth. This I am well affured of by perfons of good credit, that Arane, before his going to the Borders, (agreeably to that he had vttered diuers tymes before to fome of his famyliars),

¹ Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athol,—a woman whose profligacy was notorious.

² *Commere*, gossip, familiar acquaintance. Sir James Melville mentions that Davison became so familiar with Arran as to be ‘maid his gossup.’—*Memoirs*, p. 328.

³ Robert Crichton, who was promoted to the see in 1550, but deposed after the Reformation. By the influence of Arran and the Earl of Argyle he was again restored, as above stated, upon the surrender of the bishoprick by James Paton, then bishop.

fent this meſſag to the King by a gentleman of credit, that he ſhould tak no thought of any thing but his paſtyme and pleaſur, and for this meeting let him alone, who, as he ſaid, out of two pointis had gatherid a third, which he aſſured him ſelf ſhould proue the turne to outſhoote vs in our owne bowe. But of the particuler of thingis, ther is not anie in dowl that pretend to know any thing, but by diſcourſe and couerture beſidis, the Maſter of Gray, (who being lately enterid into a ſtrayt league with Arane, ſince the French credens came home, wherin he had ſome intereſt, as a man ſpecially truſtid), is named to be ambaffadour towardis her Maieſtie, and, as I heare, to be very ſhortly diſpatchid, albeyt I be not yet made acquainted with all. This gentleman, who hath bene allwaies notid in religion an obſtinat papift, in affection French, in devocion a profefſed ſervant of the Scottiſh Queens; one that hath confeſſed him ſelf to be inwardly acquainted with the whole courſe and proceedings and intentis of her ſelf, and her frendis abroad, and to have bene very liberally gratified in Fraunce, both by the Duke of Guiſe, and at his laſt coming home, by the Spaniſh Ambaffadour in Fraunce, from whom, as his ſelf confeſſeth, he hadd a very fayer cupboard of plate in guiſte, to the value of 5 or 6000 roleues; and one that ſince his coming, hath bene as a ſteward in the diſpenſing of ſome part of that money the Queen ſent home, (which ſome of the Kingis owne counſell, and men moſt privy to her doings, haue confeſſed to my ſelf to have bene litle leſs then 20,000^{lb}, and that Ballandyn, of whom I have hertofore aduertified, was the meſſenger), of which he beſtowed, by her direction, lately the ſoume of 300.^{ls} on Fuliambe¹ and his companyon. This gentleman, I ſay, beinge ſo quallified, affectid, and recomended to this ſervice by Arane his ſpeciall labour and procurement, I leave it to her Maieſtie and your honours theare to conſider what ground it hath, and wherto it tendeth, my ſelf fynding nothing but bare testimonyes of men accuſtomyd to deceyt, (againſt many contrary effectis), that may move me to put her Maieſty in hope of any found or direct dealing from hear, which, for myne own part, I dare not aſſure, what ſoeuer be pretended.² And yet am I borne in hand, that both the

¹ Godfrey Fuljambe and his brother were ſecret partizans and correſpondents of Queen Mary.

² Davison, in a letter of the 6th September 1584, gives Sir Chriſtopher Hatton almoſt a ſimilar account of the Maſter of Gray. "He [the King] is on Thursday laſt departed

King, for his own part, standeth well affected to cherish and preferue her Maiesties favour and frendshipp, and that Arane, to gayne his self credit with her Maiesty, whose only favour of a forepromes may avayle him most, hath procured this Ambassadour, and chofen out this person best acquainted with the plottis and courfes of her enemyes, to discouuer and lay them open wholly to her Maiesty with the Kings good lyking and consent, as they that pretend nothing more then direct and plaine proceedings, of which I leave the tryall to her Maiestys iudgement and experience.

The King departed this morning towardis Faulkland, but the lordis of his Counsell remayne here for a tyme, to take order in such things as could not be dispatched before his departure, and are dryven to go vpp to the Castell and sitt there in Counsell, to th'end that nothing be done without the privyete of my Lady, my cummere. I was on Sondag invited to dyne theare, wheare I held some purpose with his Maiesty of many thingis, and obseruid the strangenes of their behaviour towards the poore young prince, who is so distractid and weryid with their endles importunities, as it pitied me to see yt, and, if I be not abusid, groweth full of their fashions

from hence to Faulkland, where they are in deliberacion to dispatche the Master of Graye, appoynted by Arraynes procurement to be ambassadour to her Maiesty; but his departure is yet uncerten. This gentleman, besids that he is a knowen papist, a favorer of the French course, a seruant and pencioner of the Queens, and a suspected pensioner of the Popes, hath himselfe confessed to have had at his cominge out of Fraunce, a cupboard of plate, gaue him by the Spanishe ambassadour resident ther, to the valewe of 5 or 6000 crownes, besids other gyfts frau the Duke of Guise, and other the Queenes frinds; and since his cominge home, hath bine Threasurer of such monye as was sent home by Ballandine, as cominge from the Queen, whereof I knowe where he weighed at one tyme 10,000^{ls}, reserved to the Kings owne use, besids his owne parte, and that was els disposed amongst other of the courtiers, to releve ther hungry appetits; out of which store he hath of late, by his owne confession, delivered at the Queens comaundement 300^{ls} to Fuljambe and his companyon, who, fleeinge this last year owt of England, have bine since enterteigned with Huntly in the North, and of late at his fathers in Fife, as was likewise Nugent the Irish rebell and his companyon. So, as by the qualitie of the person, with other circumstaunces, your honour may gness what fruite is to be gathered of his ambassage, and what respect they have here for religion that employe men so qualified. He maketh great preparacion, and taketh with him diuers yonge gentlemen as vayne as himselfe. But hitherto, I am not once maide acquaynted by him selfe, eyther with diett or his charge, my Lord of Hunsden, and they thinekinge it best to have it passe throughe no more hands than ther owne, to whome I freely yeld all the honour and reputacion that may grow thereof, which, I feare, will not be much when ther accompt is maide; but th'ende will crowne the worke."—HARL, MSS. No. 291, fo. 143.

and behaviours which he will fometymes discourse of in broad language, as he that is not ignorant how they vse him. She hath, since the breaking ypp of the chifts of the jewellis, made newe keyes without the Kings privité or comaundement, the old remayning yet with Sir R. Melvill, who is mynded to refygne them ypp to his Maiefty, so fone as he shall come to the Court, bycause he will no longer stand charged with that which she hath the disposicion of, [whom] every man suspectith to skillfull in subtraction. It is certainly reported, that she hath also, in surveighing the wardrobe, tryd what garmentis, &c that were the Queens, may best fitt her, and chose out, at her own discretion, what she lyketh; which strange fashion of hers and her husbands will, in the iudgement of the wyfe in Court, hasten their change of fortune, howfoeuer they fede ther felues now with an opinion of their long standing. I fynd by my *bmio eg.*¹ 100, that 100 is not sleeping or careless, though he be farr of, and is persuaded the tyme will help all this. I haue enterteigned *eru*² with very many good complimentis and assurance of the good meaning, favour, and affection of 10, but empty woords I fynd move litle. I do now live here only as a cipher, and may very well be spared if it please her Maiefty, besidis that your honour knoweth what cause I haue to desier home, to take some order in your owne estate, and seing it shalbe the vnburdening her Maiefty of a nedeles charge, and an ease to my self. I beseech your honour give me leave to importune you still as a meane to her Maiefty for my revocacion, which I desire not, as he that weryeth to do her Maiefty seruice, but bycause I see not what my prefence and stay here can avayle, my Lord of Hunfedon his only credit sufficing with such as now guyde the streame. Beseeching therefore your honours favour, and expecting your good aunfwer, I do for this tyme recomend your honour to the providence of the Allmighty.

Your honours most humbly at comaunding,

W. DAUISON.

Edinburgh the xxiiij of August 1584.

POSTSCRIPT. The Abbot of Newbottill³ dyed the last week, and was buried yesterday. The minifter, that preached at his buryall, and en-

¹ Cipher.

² Cipher.

³ Mark Kerr, second son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Cessford.

veighed against the corruption and confusion eating into this Church by the ambition and wickednes of their Bishoppes, was the same day sent for and comytted. The same day, which was Sondag, the Byshopps of St Andrewes and Abirdene preached before the King in the great church of this towne, labouring more to establisht heir owne estate then to edify the hearers, who generally skorned and condempned them, and, without the Kings prefence, had otherwyse testified their myslyking, but all this notwithstanding, they push forward their owne pompe, though with the common hurt of the whole state of this Church, wherof they appeare to have very litle fence. The Provost of Glenliwde¹ is brought againe to this towne, and comytted to the Castle; their foreign conspiracy is at an end, nowe my Lord of Arane hath hitt the mark he aymid at. The King him self, as is assured me by some of his owne Counsell, hath an vtter myslyk of the chang, and hath blamed the Secretary and Sir R. Melvin for dealing further in the matter then they had warrant from himself. But some think the M^{rs} yelding in this and others extraordinary dealing against him without the Kings warraunt, will turne to Aranes disadvantage with the tyme, howsoever he do presently beare yt owt. I find the myslyk generall of his insolent and imperious proceeding, and even those he vseth and trusteth most will prove vnto him rotten reedis with the tyme, if I am not deceaved, som of them having to myself spoken playne languag tending that way, and as they assure me the King him self [is] growing weary of the insolence and rapyne both of him and his wife; wherin the tyme only must bring the remedy. The witches haue foretold that he shalle dye a violent death, and his wife, as I am credibly aduertised, hath spoken asmuch to her famylier frends. And albeyt thes thingis move others little, yet doth it appeare to setle a contynuall feare in him, who goeth for the most part armid; and being late with the King one evening, and returning to the Castle with his wife, caused the torches to be putt out, and cast an other cloke vppon him self, and left his wife, who kept her way through the high streat, and with one onely seruant passed an other by way secretly, and met her at the Castle gate, testifieing thereby the contynuall fear he liveth in.

¹ Mr Robert Douglas, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden in Galloway.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹1. *Octobre 1584.*

J'AY escript mon opinion à mon fils touchant l'ouverture que vous m'avez fait en son nom pour vostre voyage vers la Royne d'Angleterre. Si luy mande pleinement que Je ne puis aucunement approuver ceste artificielle demonstration d'un malcontentement et nouvelle division entre luy et moy, comme préjudiciable a tous deux pour les raisons qui l'ensuyvent. Affauoir, que la Royne d'Angleterre ou n'adioustrera point de foy, et le prendra en dissimulation a ieu desseigné expres entre mon fils et moy, ce que suffira pour empescher vostre voyage vers moy, au lieu de la faciliter: ou si elle croist que la diuision estre vraye, c'est donner a nos ennemys pres d'elle le seul aduantage qu'ils desirent pour la destourner de proceder plus auant en aucun traicté avec nous. Car, sans aucune doubte, ils luy ont iusques icy faict croire et fondre sa feureté et de son estat, en nostre diuision. &c.

Croyez pour certain qu'il n'y a que la seule crainte d'un extreme qui puisse amener la Royne d'Angleterre a faire pour nous, et que rien rendra mon fils si comtemptible vers elle, qui si par la pasture des belles promesses elle le peult une fois destituer et priuer de l'appuy et support de moy et mes amys, et parens les princes estrangers; &c. pourtant si mon filz est persuadé, soit par belles promesses d'Angleterre ou d'ailleurs qu'en se montrant separé de moy, il obtiendra d'elle a part des meilleures conditions; qu'il l'affeure du contraire, estant la seule chose a quoy elle tend, de luy donner, comme l'on doit, la croche en iambe, et qu'elle ne se fouciera par apres de parfourmer et observer chose quelconque qu'elle aura promise. &c.

Octobre 1584.

Je ne me doubte point qu'elle ne paste mon fils, comme elle faict moy mesmes de l'esperance de la succession de ceste couronne, mais ce n'est qu'artifice pour seulement nous tenir en laisse apres elle, ayant des le

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108: where this article is marked as "An abstract out of certayne Letters of the Queene of Scottes to the Mr of Gray," with the title 'Recueils des Lettres de la Royne d'Escosse au Mr de Gray.'

commencement de son regne tenu tousiours ce maxime principale de fa feureté ou elle est plus resolu que iamais, de ne declarer, tant qu'elle viura, aucun heritier, ny souffrir aulcune de ses subiectz destourner leurs yeulx d'elle: &c.

COMMISSION BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY,
AS AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.¹

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scottes, To all and fyndrie, whome yt efferis, whose knowledge theis our letteris shall to come, GREETINGE; Forasmuche as, we haue confiderid of the beste and most aparent meanes to settel our estate in quietnes and furetie, and our Realme in a perfett tranquillitie and repose, and findinge the same cheeflie to consist in keeping stedfaste and inviolable the happie peace, and long contynewd amitye betwixt vs and our deereft sifter and cousin, the Queene of Englande, being the Princes in the worlde neereft alwaies, and moste respectable to ws, and enterteyning of the same on our behaulfe, by good intelligens and mutuall correspondancis, in all good offices tendinge to the observacion and increase of the same, Will, therefore, having good prooffe and experience of the wisdome, willingenes, circumspection and sufficiency alwaies, of our trustie and wellbelovide cousin, PATRICK MASTER OF GRAYE, speciall gentleman of our Privie chamber, and of his entire and dutifull affection borne to our estate and servis, have, in that respect, made, nominate, constitute and ordeyned, and by theis our letteris, nominates, makes, constitutis and ordeynes him our Ambassador, orratour, commissioner, deputie, and speciall messanger, to the effect vnder written, givinge, graunting, and committing to him our full power, speciall comaunde, expresse bydding, and chardg, for vs and in our name and behaulfe to conveane with our deereft sifter and cousin, the Queene of Englande, her counsell, and such as she shall appointe and autorise to

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 102, fol. 119.

that effect, at what fouever tymes and places; and to treat, conferr, deliberate and conclude in all matters and cawses betwixt vs and our faide deereft fister, our domynions and fubiects, tending to the confirmacion and enterteynment of the faide amitye, and continueance of peace and quietnes betwixt vs: And thervppon to contracte, indent, promife, fubfcribe and enterchange feales, and generally all and fundrye other thingis to do, exercife and vse, that to th'execution of the premiffes neceffarey requirid, although the fame requierid more speciall comiffion nor is here in expreffid, firm and ftable houlding, and for to houlde all and what fouever thing our faid Ambaffador, deputie, and meffenger, in our name in the premiffes, lawfully leadis to be down. Thies vnder our greate feale, and fubfcribed with our hande, at our Pallace of Hollyrood hoofe þe xiiijth daie of Octobir, 1584, and of our raigne the xvijth yere.

KING JAMES VI. TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

TRUSTY AND WELLBELOVED, We greete you well: having directed our trusty and wellbeloved coufen, Patrick Maister of Gray, gentelman of our Privy chamber, to our deereft fester, the Queene your foueraigne, to open and communicate vnto her fuch thinges on our behalf, as being well accepted of, according to our expectacion, may prooue greatly to the weale of both our Crowns and Countreyes, wee will require you very earnestly, that, according to the place of credite and councell which you occupy, you willbe the meane to further him to speedy prefence, and a convenient difpatch and anfwere of his errand; trusting him in that which he fhall deliver vnto you on our behalf: Thus we committ you to God. From our Pallace of Halirud houfe.

Your loving ffriend,

JAMES R.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. VIII. fol. 118.

EARL OF ARRANS INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

No feale to be enterchanged, nor handwritt by you, but according to the old band, chiefly that either others rebells be either delivered or banished, and the réceators common enemies to both realmes.

In all other purposés of weight desire to be further resolved of his Maiefty; fometime alleadging such headis not to be in your instruccions anywise; some tyme, that ye are specially in that inhibited, whereuppon your blanckes suffice, also the blanckes brought with you to make your revocation, as the necessity shalbe offred.

One parte of your instruccions you must haue to many patent, namely, that yf the league be kept to his Maiestie touching his rebells, that you lett the Queene in all thinges knowe her danger, which the Kings Maiefty esteemeth his owne; and if need require, offer in his Maiestys name forces, both vppon foote and horfback, to defend her, and pursue all that would disturbe her estate or realme: the condicions as is conteyned in the league, I thinck to our owne Border, and so many dayes vppon our chardges; what further vppon the Queenes.

Yf a league offensive and defensiv shalbe to you propounded, cast it not of, but demaund the condicions, and poste them to his Maiefty, whereof you shalbe shortly resolved; ffor that, theis ten yeares, they have ever beene seeking, and when noe other thing will ferve, that will protract tyme, and be in his Maiesties opinion to graunt or denie.

Yf it shalbe condiscended the Rebells be bannished, spare not to condiscend to this, that all subiects of England shal haue acceffe to all partes of Scotland with out pasport or licence, and all Scotés in England in like manner. This will pleasure England greatly, and yet I see a comodity divers wayes to our Maister.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VII. art. 191, fol. 224. This article is marked in the printed Catalogue of the Cotton MSS. under the date August 1585, but it evidently refers to the embassy of the Master of Gray in 1584.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

MY VERY GOODE LORDE, thys longe lookyd for man, the Master of Gray, ys come att lasste, for whose stay ther hath wantyd no practyfys, whyther yn Skotlande nor owte of Inglande; for in Skotlande, the Collonell Stewarde, the factyon of France and Spayne, and the papyftis, haue dune theyr beste; all the forine factyons in Inglande hathe nott slepte. And he hathe nott only hade worde sent hym, how gretly he ys alreddy condemd at the courte, bothe with hyr Maiefty and vthers about hyr, and that he shall fynde so slender entertaynment there, as he wyll fune wyshe hymselfe away. And to feare hym the more, yt hathe byn sayd too hym, that yn hys passynge threw thys cuntrey, his cairyagis shalbe taken, with all hys wrytyngs, and hymselfe nott fre from perryll, whyche, God wyllynge, I wyll take order wellynowhe for hys safty too Newcastell. And no dowght but hys cumynge offendis many yn Inglande, for they know he cane towche fume of them deply. He came hyther apon Satterday yn the afternune, hauynge exprese commandment too deale with me, and too make me acquayntyd with hys negocyacion shurely, as he hathe dune, and hathe promeste me muche, but I wyll neyther trust hym too farr, nor aduyse hyr Maiefty too truste hym, farther then she shall fynde cawse at hys hande, bycawse he ys so gretly condemde alreddy amonge vs, as whatfoeuer he saythe, yea the King hymselfe, or therle of Arren, muste nott be beleuyd. Thys mane, for beyngre grete with the Skotish Queen, and for beyngre a papyfte, I know he cane say mutche of the Skotthe Queen, few men more; but for hys papystry, I wolde all owars wer fuche, for yesterday, beyngre Sunday, he went to the chyrche with me, hauynge seruys booke of myne, fyttyng with me yn my peu, he sayde all the seruys, and, bothe befor the fermone and after, he fange the salmes with me, aswell as I cowlde doo, wherby yt semes he had byn eufyd too them, or else he cowlde not a dune yt so well and so reddyly now, lett hys relygyon be whatt ytt wyll.

¹ From the original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 105, fol. 122.

Hys comyffyon ys very large, the copy wherof I fende your Lordship herewith. The princypall poyntis of hys Ambassage ar two: the fyrste, too desier at hyr Maieftys handis, ayther the delyuery, or the puttynge from hyr, hys rebbelis, (as he termes them), for the King cane neyther thynk hys réalme fre from practysys, nor hys parson fre from perryll, so longe as they be sufferd too remayne so neare hym. Vpone whyche poynte he and I wer yn grete argument, so farr as I towlde hym, that yf that wer th'effecte of hys negocyacyon, I wolde rather venter too stay hym heare, or too lett hym returne agayne, tyll I know hyr Maieftys farther pleasure, then to suffer hym to pase with matter that shoulde be rather offencyeue to hyr Maiefty, then that satysfactyon that hathe byn promest, and whyche hyr Maiefty lookes for at hys hande. In fyne, after longe debate, he grew more mylder, alledgyng that, yf hys Master shoulde dyscouer the practysys of vther pryncys, now hys frendis, and therby lose them vtterly, and hyr Maiefty nott too shew hyrselfe so carefull of hym, as, at his feut and erneste requeste, too deny the puttynge away of hys Rebels, he shoulde stand yn very hard case too lose hys frendis who hathe made hyme many grete offers, and yett hys enymys kepte and mayntaynyd at hys nose, and therby iuste cawse for hymself, and all the worlde, to thynke that hyr Maiefty makes more accownte of the subiects then of the King. But, saythe he, yf yt may please hyr Maiefty to deale so favorably and louyngly with the King, as yf she fynd hyrselfe fully satysfyde yn suche thyngis as she wolde know of any practyse agenste hyr state, that then she wyll put hys ennymys from hyr; apone hyr assurance herof, ther ys no practys that hathe byn practysde agenst hyrself or hyr estate, eyther by France, Spayne, the Skotthe Queen, or the Pope, thys 5 yere, but she shall know ytt, and how too avoyde ytt, vtherwyse he wyll returne as he came; for he wyll nott lose hys Master many frendis of grete princys, and nott make hym feure of hyr Maiefty, for, saythe he, what loue and faythfull amyté cane he looke for at hyr Maieftys handis yf she refuse hym so reasonable a requeste, whyche shee ys bownde too doe by the treatye. Thys farr he hathe gone with me, so as nowe hyr Maiefty ys too confyder whyther the knowlege of the bottome of thes practysys agenst hyr Maiefty and hyr estate, or the kepyng and mayntaynyng of thes men yn hyr

realme, whome he accountis for hys rebellis and mortall ennymys, wyll stande hyr yn moſte ſtede, and be moſte for hyr ſeury; whyche I leaue to hyr Maieſtys graue conſyderacyon, and ther ys no dowght, but as thys mane cane dyſcouer all thes forren practyſys, ſo ys he acquayntyd with moſte of our practyſys at home, and the practyſars, whyche, in my ſymple opynyon, wolde ſtande her Maieſty yn more ſtede, then thes mens beyng here pen yf they wer att home, but that I refer to wyſer men.

Thys, I know, the King hathe ſayde, that yf they wer farther of, and myght heare of thyr dewtyfull euſage towards hym, ther ys nothyng ſo farr paſte, but by theyre good deſertes myghte be callyd bak agayne, and ſume of them callyd home agayne. Dumfarmelyn,¹ who was banyſht, beyng very ſyke wher he was, hathe returnyd home for hys helthe withoute leaue, and yet the King nott offendyd with him, but yn hys coming nye too Edenburgh lay thre dayſe at hys howſe with hym.

Now, my Lord, towchyng the King and therle of Arren. As I haue wrytten hertofore, no mane knowſe the ſecretis of mens hartis but God, but yf they be nott worſe then dyuelis, but that I may beleue open and ſolleme prowſe, erneſte and lyberall proteſtacyons, hyr Maieſty may haue the King aſſuryd too hyr from all the worlde: therfor, yf he be worth the hauyng, let hyr take howlde of hym whylſte ſhe may, for yf ſhe lett hym ſlype now, ſeurlly he wyll neuer be hade agayne. And for therle of Arren, he muſte of neceſſyté rune thys cowrſe, for yn reſpecte of hys up-howlidyng and contynewyng the King yn thys cowrſe, he ys gretely hatyd of the Kings mother, and all hyr factyon of France, and of all the papyſtes, and more hatyd ſynce he begane thys cowrſe then euer he was byfore, which I know too be moſte trew, which makes me thyнк that he deales playnly.

Thus haue I troblyd your Lordſhip with a longe dyſcowrſe of ſuche matters as paſte betwene hym and me, ſo neare as I cane, but with many thyngs more to longe too wryght, and ſo I commit your Lordſhip to th' Almighty. Your aſſuryd frende

H. HUNSDON.

At Barwyke the 19th of October 1584.

¹ Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

NOWE, my gode Lord, hauyng wrytten fomuche yn my vther letter, as I thinke your Lordship wyll acquaynte hyr Maiefty with all, hauynge also wryttyn sumthyng to hyr Maiefty, whyche, I praye your Lordship too delyuer vntoo hyr, I am too acquaynt your Lordship with fume vther matters to be eyfyd at your dyscretyon. Thys gentylmane ys exprestly comandyd yn all hys dooyngis too be reulyd by your Lordships aduyfe and myne, and hauynge browghte fundry letters from the King, the coppys wherof he hathe shewde me, for that he ys to delyuer none but fuche as I appoynt hym. The King wyll by no meanes wryght nor deale with Mr. Secretary, for, saythe he, I knowe hym too be my grete ennymy, and hathe hys hande too show, which I thynke thys gentylmane hathe. My Lord of Leycester hathe thowghte grete vnkyndnes that he hathe nott byn imployde yn thes matters, as hys hande ys too be showde. So, as I haue wyllyd hym yn anywyfe to delyuer all hys letters, and bycawfe ther is more partycularytys yn your Lordships letter than yn any of the reste, and perhaps yf your Lordship delyuer ytt hyr byfor you reade ytt yourfelfe, she wyll kepe ytt, he shall delyuer your Lordship the copy therof.

As I haue wrytten yn my vther letter, he wyll craue too haue thes lordis, and fume vthers, too be delyueryde accordinge too the vertew of treuse and treaty, the copy of whyche artycle he bryngs with him, yett he wyll nott perfyfte therapon, so as they may be sent yntoo any vther cuntrey owte of the Realme; whyche may be grantyd hym for a tyme, for yf that be denyd vntoo hym, I cane assure your Lordship that he wyll vtter nothyng of those matters hyr Maiefty wolde know; wheryn yf he doo not satyffy hyr Maiefty to hyr contentment, she may reuoke them agayne at her pleasure, and I assure your Lordship yt ys neyther goode pollyfy, nor fytt they showld be sufferde to remayne with fuche troopes and yn fuche forte. Ther ys neare hande 100 of them yn Newcastle, and euery fayre nyght they walk yn the markett plafys, yea and apon the walles

¹ From the Original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 106, fol. 123.

with theyr pyftols at theyr gyrdelis at xi and xij a cloke, whyche a grete many of the beſte of the towne doothe gretely myſlike withall; and my Lord, thohe they be now heare for theyr ſuccor, they may herafter be callyd home agayne, and then no dowght they will be, as theyr forfathers hath byn, ſo as ytt ys nott fytt ſo many of them ſhould be ſo priuy of the ſecretis of that towne, as they be, nott only of the towne, but of all the cuntrey, bothe by water and by lande, for they ryde and go wher they lyfte. They myght be at the leſte ynward, ſume at Yorke, ſume too London, and ſume to othyr placys, and I aſſure your Lordſhypp, ther ys ſuche rydyng from Newcaſtell ynto Skotlande, and owt of Skotlande too them, as ys ſtrange. One the other fyde, ther ys faſte poſtyng from them to the courte and London, and from thens too theme, and tyll your Lordſhypp was comandyd too deale with me heryn, ther was nothyng wrott vp but they wer aduertifyd of ytt, whyche I knowe too be moſt trewe; and eſpecyall letters wrytten that they ſhowlde want nothyng, eſpecyally the Maſter of Glammes and Coluyn;¹ ſo as whatſoeuer they doo, none dare fynde any fawlte with them. The King ys gretely greuyd with hys mynſtery for goyng awaye without any cauſe gyuen too them, wherby, ſaythe he, vther princys thynke hym yrrelygyus, and reddy to revolte from relygyon, wherappon they haue ſowght too fende Jeſuytis and bookes yntoo hys Realme, too poyſon yt as owars; and whyche ys worfe, yt ys gyuen owte that he ys nott the Kings ſune but Dauys,² whyche, ſaythe he, cumes from theſe men; whyche he towlde Cuddy Armerar,³ wyth water yn hys eyfe, beyng but they two alone. And too dyſcredyt therle of Arren with the King, ſume that ar aboute hym hathe gyuen owte that he ys fedd frome me with angels by Armerar; wherapon the King dyd requyer Armerar, beyng but they two, as euer he wold doo anythyng for hym, that he wold tell hym one thyng, who anſerd

¹ Mr John Colvill, formerly chantor of Glasgow. He had deſerted the clerical profeſſion on account of its poverty, and became a court intriguer, and a follower of the Earl of Gowrie, and of Francis Lord Bothwell.

² David Rizzio.

³ Cuthbert Armourer, who appears to have been employed by Lord Hunsdon as a ſecret courier to James VI.

that yf yt towcht no way hyr Maiefty, nor too preiudyse me hys mafty, he wold tell hym trewly. Wherapon the King askt hym that questyan; wherapon he anferde that, as he wolde be fauyd at the day of Iudgment, he neuer delyuerde halpeny or penny, more or les, or any thyng els, from me but letters. So as euen they aboute the King wolde fayne putt th'Erle owt of favor yf they cowlde by any practyse; for then had they no obstacle too make hym follow hys Mothers deuyfys, and too worke hym for France or Spayne, as I thynke Mr Dauyson hathe suffycyently aduertifyd, for so he promeste me too doo. Fentry,¹ who is aboute the King, hathe byn very earnest with hym to fend to hyr Maiefty about Cryhton,² who ys yn the Towar, comendynge hym aboue the skyfe; who anferd hym, that yf he hymselfe hade any credyt too doo what he thought goode, but he wolde neuer sende aboute suche a knaue, lett her Maiefty hang hym yf she wyll; and fewrly that Kryghton knowfe muche yf ytt may be gotten owt of hym. Therle of Arren sent me, by my mane, ferten artycles byfor the Master of Gray comes, of which I fende your Lordshyp the copy, too be eufyd as your Lordshyp shall thynk fytt. Your Lordshyp may make hyr Maiefty acquayntyd with fume of them that maye be wrytten owte, butt nott with the hole. The King ys very desyrus to haue me ther, as your Lordshyp shall see by a poste skrypte, whyche he has wrytten yn the letter he sent me: 'My Lorde, for wayghtj cawfys, as thys bearar wyll acquaintance you wyth, I muste desier you, as ye tender my contentmente and weyle, and your honore, too ryde vpp immediatly after thys forfayd bearar too courte. I dowght nott but whane he shawfe you the cawfe, ye wyll kepe yt too yourselfe only.' Thys matter I dare nott comytt too wrytynge, yett I wyll fende hyr Maiefty my letter, and kepe the copy, so as she shall se the poste skrypt, and fewrly, my Lord, I thynke I shoulde doo hyr Maiefty better seruice there then here, he beyng comandyd too euse my aduyse yn all hys negocyacyons, and I cowlde fume be ther yn poste, with halfe a dosen with me. Thys bearar shall tell of fume of thes matters at more lengthe, and what your Lordshyp shall comande and dyrecte hym too doo, he shall, and shall deale with

¹ David Graham of Fintry.

² William Crichton, a trafficking Jesuit, who was imprisoned for a plot against Queen Elizabeth.

nobody else. Thus, hauynge byn too tedyus too your Lordshyp, I comytt ye too th'Almyghty. At Berwyke the 19 of October, 1584.

Your Lordshyps assured too comande,

H. HUNSDON.

I haue thowght goode to fende your Lordshyp the copy of my letter too therle of Arren 4 dayse byfor the Master of Grayse cumynge, when I thowghte he shoulde nott a cume, wheryn he thowght fume vnkyndnes yn me, that wolde mystruste eyther the King or hym of playne dealynge.

LORD BURGHEY TO LORD HUNSDON. OCTOBER 1584.¹

MY VERY GOOD LORD. The Master of Gray hath, since his arivall, had two awdiencies, the one on Sounday last, which was spent for the most parte in ceremonys; th'other yisterday, wherein he did but in effect vrge her Maiesty to restore unto the King his masters hands, the noblemen his subiects fled into this realme: Which motion hir Maiestye did seme vtterly to have no likeinge of, beinge perswaded, in her conscience, that those gentlemen had neuer had any evill meennings towards the person of the Kinge, and that such attempts as haue fallen out in Scotland, haue only proceeded of the particular deuisions and parties that haue taken foote amongst the noblemen of that realme, by reason of the minoritye of the Kinge, which he shuld rather seke to extinguish, and to vnite his whole nobilitye in a comon concurrencie to doe him seruice, then make himself a partye in any faction, which cannot breed but very dangerous effects. And for asmuch as he made daintye to discouer any thinge of the special purpose of his comeinge, which her Maiesty concewied was for the openinge of some matter concerning the perill of her estate, she did not forbear to let him perceauie pat she was offended withall.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 129, fol 157.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES NEGOCIACION. NOVEMBER 1584.¹

THE Notes presented by PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, Ambassadour for the Kings Maieftye of Scotland in the realme of England, drawn furth of his generall instruccions, and geuen to Sir Francis Walsingham, principall Secretarye to her Maiefty, to be advifed vpon by whome it shall please her Highnes to appoint.

FIRST. Theis frequent incurfions, depredacions, reafinge of fire, and inaccustomed ridinge of the Wardens of this realme, with fouldiers and men vnder paye, in hostile manner, within the bounds of Scotlande, hath caufed the inhabitantis of boeth the realmes vpon the frontyers rather to fear further hostilitye and open invafion, then maintenance of quietnes. If it fhallbe her Maieftys pleafure to entertaine the happie peace, it appeares to be expidient, that this apprehencion fhould be removed furth of her fubiectis minds with fpede, before it fhould produce any further inconvenience.

SECONDLIE. The greate fpoyles by fea, and rapt of goodis taken from the ftates of merchauntis, that continually cry to the King and counfell, that they may be helped to the reftitucion of their goodis, or otherwife licenced to take fo much as they haue loft, which, if he fhould permitt, would, within fhort tyme, gener confufion and farther inconvenience. It hath moved the King, my Soueraigne, earnestly to defire that fome fpedie order may be giuen for avoydeinge of all farther inconvenience in tyme to come, and the goodis taken may be reftored. Whatfoeuer good order fhallbe geuen within her Maieftys dominyons, for remediege of the premifes, the like fhallbe performed in Scotland.

THIRDLIE. The receauinge of certayne declared rebellis, againft the King my masters authoritye, fugitiues from the lawes of Scotland, within

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 130, fol. 157.

this realme, and entertheyneinge of them so nere vnto the frontyers, contrary to the treatye of peace, ioyned also to th'afforesaid disorders, has giuen occasion to the Kinge my master and his counsell to doubt if they shal loke for happie quietnes, or further hostilitie.

FOURTHLIE. Since my departure from Scotland, beinge here in dealeinge for peace, such attemptats hath bene comitted vpon the Borders by her Maiestys officers, that it hath so confirmed all men in evill opinions, and so wounded the minds of the best forte, that they cannot imagine what shalbe th'ende.

ITEM. My abode here hath bene longer then I looked for, and if any further tyme should be protracted for treating of euery particuler matter, it would be more then the Kinge my master, (who lately hath comaunded me to returne with speede), would well like of. Therefore, I have taken occasion and boldnes, for furtheringe of my returneinge, and that some good may be effected for intertheyneinge of good intelligence and quietnes betwixt the realmes, to make overture of theis equitable remedies followinge, which I craue may presently be performed, or otherwise, with reason and equitye, answered; promiscing also, that what foeuer good order shalbe devised and performed here, for th'accomplishment hereof, shal haue the like correspondence in Scotland; most humbly craueing, that this my too great boldnes, proceedinge from good meaninge, may be accepted in good parte.

THE REMEDIES.

INPRIMIS. For removeinge of all iealoussie or suspicion of warre from the mindis of the people and inhabitants of both the realms, it appeareth to be expedient that a proclamacion should be made foe fully certifienge the subiectis, of the good intelligence betwixt the Princes, and of the mutuall good meaneinge for entertheyne of peace and quietnes, betwixt them and their realmes.

SECONDLIE. That comaundment may be giuen in boeth the realmes,

that the Wardens of all þe Marches may meete with convenient ſpede, euery one with the oppoſſite warden, to giue and receaue iuſtice to all complayners, in any matter that wardens hath bene in uſe to procede vpon in any tyme heretofore.

THIRDLIE. That the ſubiectis may remayne in full hope to receaue an effectuall iuſtice of all and fundry attemptis that hath bene comitted heretofore, it appeareth to be expedient, that one certaine tyme ſhuld be appointed for meteinge of Commiſſioners, hauing full power to miniſter iuſtice to all people and inhabitantis, vpon what foueuer iniuſtice they ſhall haue occaſion to complain.

FOURTHLIE. As the ſpecialtyes of this generall order appeareth to produce good effectis vpon the Bordours, ſo appeareth it to be convenient that ſome good order may be provided for the ſtayeinge of piracy, which appeareth may be provided by giuinge of ordours, that in all the portis and havens of both the realmes, no ſhip ſhalbe ſuffered to departe, vnles they giue caution that all freindis and confederatis ſhall remaine indamnified; and this caution, ſo found, to be anſwerable to all intereſſet, in kace of contrauencion. And in like manner, who foeuer fauours, ſupportis, or aſſiſteth to any pirate, which are amongs all nations reputed *hostes publici*, ſhall incurre the like payne as the pirate ſhould haue done, aſwell in reſtitucion of goodis as puniſhment of bodie.

ITEM. For attemptis, raptis by ſea, and ſpoliacion comitted in tymes paſt, endureing the minoritye of my Soueraigne, and vnto this tyme, which are cumand, by continuance of euill doeinge and for long ſufferaunce, without payment or puniſhment, to large ſumes of money, and the greater hath bene the occaſion of harme, by reaſon that the partye that ſuſtayneth the loſe could not at all tymes come here for obteyneinge of iuſtice, whereby the principall committers of the delict hath eyther eſcaped long tyme without creauinge, and ſo thereby his fault put in obliuion, or otherwiſe committed newe erroris: for effectinge of the precedenis, or therefore puniſh or otherwiſe fugitiue, whereby the perſons damnified may be in danger

to lose ther whole goodis of fortune, without some good equitable order may be provided, which appereth may be performed in this manner followeing. The spoliacion and wronges done by sea beinge greater, and the fumes obteyned by sentences and probacion be apparent also to growe to greater, I haue power sufficient to bringe the whole to a reasonable compoficion of some speciall fume, which may be paid by some spedie order to be devised, and thereafter recovered by th' order of fines fet downe by her Maiesty for that effect.

FIFTHIE, Seinge that by no perswasion I can move her Maiesty, at this tyme, to make deliuery of the fugitivis and rebellis aforesaid, according to the treaty of peace, it appeareth at the least, for some parte of satisfaccion of the King my masters fuyte, to be expedient, that her Maiestye should remove them presently from the Bordours, not onely to avoyde trafiqueinge against his Maiestys estate and person, but also to feclude all apparent suspicion thereof; whereby the King my master may remaine in hope to move her Maiestye to consider better hereof at some tyme hereafter.

LAST, It appeareth that the King my master should receaue better contentment of her Maiestys proceedings, if he should be satisfied by solide reasons, vpon what grounds this invsitate forme of dooinge and hostile invacion, that hath bene comitted vpon the Borders, within Lidedale, since my departure, doth procede. The reason thereof may be vnderstud, by this compleynt presented to the Counsell of Scotland by Martine Elliot,¹ whereof please receaue the copie.

ITEM, In like manner, I recommend to your Honours memory the notes giuen to Mr William Daidson, at the tyme of his beinge in Scotland, vpon the Lord Scroope, warden of the west Marches, for diuers offences alleged comitted by him, or at his comaund at least, vpon the inhabitantis of the west Marches of Scotland.

¹ Martin Elliot, a noted Border freebooter.

THE MANNER OF PROCEEDINGES WITH THE MASTER OF GRAY,
AND NAU.¹

THE heads of the motions to be made vnto her Maiefty.

THE MASTER OF GRAY.

What anfwere to his
propositions. { 1. To stay attempts Bordours.
2. The removeinge of the distressed Noblemen.
3. Satisfaccion spoyled by fea.
4. The late enterprife against Martine Elwood.

To stay the forces demaunded by Sarle Boye.
Mr Coluill to be sent to the Noblemen with reliefe.

MONSIEUR NAU.²

Some to be appointed to treat and to resolve vpon the Articles.

The Articles being agreed on, Nau to be returned, and vpon knowledge of the Queene by takeing of them, Commissioners may be sent thither with authoritye to conclude.

Nau to be sent first into Scotlande to deale with the Kinge for his assent.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR. { 1. To ioyne in triple legation.
2. To move that he might be sent into Scotlande.

1. Protestacion, sinceare dealeinge.
2. Make tryall of Naus voyage into Scotlande.
3. Keepe secret assurance giuen by them to the Queen.
4. Letters charge Master of Gray importunacy, Rebels before Counsell.
5. Charge Master of Gray before Counsell.
6. Letters Arrane.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 133, fol. 160.

² Mons. Nau, French Secretary to Queen Mary, by whom he had, at this time, been sent to negotiate with Queen Elizabeth. See his propositions, and Elizabeth's answers, in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, No. 44.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNSELLS ANSWER TO CERTAINE NOTES PRO-
POUNDED BY THE MASTER OF GRAY, AMBASSADOUR.¹

THE Queens Maieſtye, beinge willing to yeld contentment vnto the King her good brother, and to avoyd the inconvenience that may fall out, by the daylie ſpoyles comitted vpon the Borders of eyther realme, hath comand-ed that preſent order ſhalbe giuen vnto the Wardens, for the ſtay of all attemptis and incurſions to be hereafter made vpon any of the ſubiectis of the ſaid Kings inhabitants vpon the Borders, in hope that the ſaid King, as his Ambaffadour hath promiſed, will take the like order for the oppoſite Borders of Scotland. And in caſe the Wardens of Scotland would, according to th'offers ſundry tymes made by her Maieſtys Wardens, haue vndertaken to haue yelded ſatiſſaction for ſuch ſpoyles, as were often tymes orderly demanded according to the treaties, thoſe late incurſions and ſpoyles, done in hoſtile forte, had not bene committed. For the avoyd-inge whereof in tyme to come, her Maieſtye hath willed, that preſent order ſhalbe giuen that her Wardens ſhall meete more frequently with the oppoſite Wardens of that realme, then of late yeres they haue done, though indeede by the default of the Wardens of Scotland, with expreſe comaundment to yeld ſatiſſaction for ſuch ſpoyles and attemptis as boeth haue and ſhalbe hereafter comitted, according to the treatyes. And doeth further alſo aſent, that for ſuch cauſes of difficultyes as cannot conveniently receaue ordinary redreſſe by the wardens, the ſame ſhalbe referred over to be heard and determynd by eſpeciall comiſſioners, to be choſen by boeth their Maieſties.

And for the removeinge of the ielouſie that is, by the Ambaffadours reporte, conceaued by the ſubiectis of boeth realmes through late incurſions and ſpoyles that haue bene on boeth fides, and no redreſſe yelded by ordinarye iuſtice, that this hard and violent courſe may in th'ende breake out into ſome publique and open hoſtilitye, her Maieſtye will cauſe it, out of hands, to be notified to her ſaid ſubiectis dwellinge vpon the Borderis

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 131, fol. 158.

by proclamacion, how desirous she is that the good amitye betwene the Kinge and her shall continue. And leaſt there ſhould growe any interrupcion thereof, by the particuler revenges that are daylie taken, which cannot otherwyſe be avoyded, that boeth her Maieſtys and the Kings meaneinge is, that by more frequent meteing of the Wardens, then of late yeares there hath bene, there may redreſſe be made according to ordinary courſe of iuſtice agreeable with the treaties.

Touching the ſpoyles of late yeres, ſaid to be comitted by ſea, vpon the ſubiectis of the ſaid King by certaine Engliſh Pirates, her Maieſtye hath alwayes offred, as alſo performed, on her behalf, aſwell by proceedinge, accordinge to the ordinary courſe of iuſtice, againſt ſuch as haue comitted the ſaid ſpoyles, as alſo in cauſeing reſtitucion to be made of ſuch goodis, as haue bene duly proved to appertaine to any of the Kings ſubiectis, whereſoeuer they haue bene found, which is as much as a Prince is bound to performe by the lawe of nacions. And yet, to make her good will, boeth to the King and his ſubiectis more apparent, ſhe hath not onely extended an extraordinary fauour to the ſaid Kings ſubiectis, aboue all other Princes ſubiectis her neighbouris, by yeldinge vnto them towardis their ſatiſfaction the benefiet of all ſuch mulctis and fines as haue bene generally impoſed vpon ſuch as haue bene found to be eyther adyris or abettours of pirates, but hath alſo extended her liberalitie vnto diuers of the ſaid realme, that haue bene recomended vnto her by the ſaid Kinge, in reſpect of ſuch loſes, as they pretended to haue ſuſtained; without inſiſtinge vpon ſuch exact proufe of their loſes, as by ordinary courſe of iuſtice is requyred. And as to urging ſuch others, as haue made due profe thereof before the ordinarye iudge of this realme, for many cauſes of ſuch loſes as they haue ſuſtained, and haue not as yet receaued any ſatiſfaction, there ſhalbe order giuen, that ſuch perſons, as by the ſame proufis ſhalbe any way found culpable, ſhall yeld ſatiſfaction, ſo farre furth as may ſtand with the lawes of this realme. And although no further matter may be craved at her Maieſtys handis, by any order of iuſtice, then is conteyned in the ſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſty, vpon the ſpeciall conſideracion and care ſhe hath to gratifie the King, is pleaſed to continewe the imployeinge of the benefiet of the ſaid mulctis and fines

imposed vpon delinquentis, that otherwise shuld growe to her owne coffers, vpon such of the said subiects as shalbe recomended vnto her, from tyme to tyme, by the said Ambassadour, in hope that he will procure the like iustice to be done to the subiectis of this realme, that haue bene lately spoyled by Scottish Pirates, as by a note thereof deliuered to him may appere. And as touchinge the requestis for order to be giuen in the portis for such stay of pirates, both her Maiesty hath already had, and also will hereafter haue, such care the order be kept, as is desired.

As touchinge the recepcion of such, as the said Ambassadour tearmeth declared rebellis and traytours, (a matter he hath aboue all other so vehemently profecuted), her Maiesty protesteth, that if she thought them guilty of any intent any wayes to attemptat any thinge against the Kings owne person, she would not onely have forborne to haue suffred them to come within any her dominyons, but would have proceded against them with all feueritye, as against such as shuld have sought to attempt any thinge against her owne person. But beinge perswaded, as she is in her owne conscience, vpon many circumstances, that the matters, wherewith the King chargeth them, hath proceded onely of particuler quarrellis and foodes betwene them and other subiectis in that realme; a thinge that hath fallen comonly out in the minoritye of younge kingis, when, for laik of absolute authoritye, subiectis doe enter into their particuler revenges, not submittinge themselues to ordinarye course of iustice; and yet notwithstanding, for the removeinge of the ienaloufies that the Kinge, her good brother, hath conceaued through their aboade so nere his frontyers, her Maiestye will giue present order for their remoue from thence to some such place as shall avoyde all suspicion, where they shalbe also advised to remaine in quiet forte, vntill such tyme as her Maiestye shall vnderstand the Kinges further meaneinge touchinge the said lordis, from the said Ambassadour.

Lastlie, touchinge Martin Elwoods late informacion, the act whereof he complayneth hath bene done by the two Wardens of the west and middle Marches, without eyther direction or privitye of her Maiestys self, or of her Priuye Counsell. Yet the said Wardens, vpon some doubt conceaued that some informacion would be giuen against them, haue offred

to iustifie their doeings, as constreyned thereto of necessity, through diuers and sondry spoyles committed vpon her Maiestys subiectis, within her feuerall wardenryes, by the said Martin and his associates, beinge a principall maintaynour of all disordered persons, whereof no redrese could be obteyned, though the same was, by the said Wardens, demaunded: notwithstandinge, such is her Maiestys care to satisfie the King, as she is content that, at the next intended meteinge of the comissioners, the said attempt nowe compleyned of shalbe boethe examined and ordered by them.

ANSWERS TO CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS AND REQUESTS
OF THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

IMPRIMIS, as concerninge the Articles, creaveinge the restitution of goodis taken by English Piratis, which are founded vpon certayne decretis obteyned, and proban deduced, before competent iudges of this realme, it is moste certaine that amongst all nations pyratis are accompted *hostes publicj*, and therefore shoud be punished accordinglie, if they can be comprehended, and the goodis spoyled by them, wheresoeuer it can be founde, shuld be restored; which her Maiestye hath not onely performed to the subiectis of the realme of Scotland, but also of her owne proper goodis, hath bountifully, with out any proban deducet, or any forme of proceeding by order of iustice vsed, caused satisfaccioun to be made to diuers inhabitantis of that realme, which is more then of iustice could haue bene craued. And yet notwithstanding, if any subiectis of that realme shall haue to complaine of any iniustice, vpon speciall informacion giuen thereof, equitable order shalbe giuen for their satisfaccion, accordinge to iustice.

As concerninge any decretis alledged obteyned and not satisfied, if that any such decretis shalbe produced against any speciall persons, the said shall

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 132, fol. 159. As this and the preceding article vary in several particulars, it has been thought advisable to print both, it being doubtful which of them was the answer finally given to the Notes of the Master of Gray.

haue full execucion againſt all ſuch perſons that are conteyned therein, their whole goodis and poſſeſſions made ſtringzeable to the parties, or their lawfull factors, obteyners of the ſaid decret, and their bodies made puniſhable, yf they may be comprehended.

Albeit, no further can be craued by any order of iuſtice nor is conteyned in this aforeſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſtye, vpon ſpeciall care and conſideration moveinge her Maieſty, for the relieueinge of the ſubiectis of that countrey that hath bene troubled by Pirates, hath giuen ſpeciall order, that certaine fine or taxacion ſhould be levyed of her owne proper ſubiectis, by the order whereof diuers complainers of that realme has already bene relieved, which good ordour her Maieſtye, at the deſire of the ſaid Maſter, ſhall cauſe be continued with expedicion poſſible. And whatſoeuer ſume ſhalbe hereby recovered, ſhalbe diſpoſed to ſuch diſtreſſed perſons as ſhalbe comended by the ſaid Ambaſſadour aforeſaid, and to none others. Her Maieſty craves the like iuſtice may be done to the ſubiectis of this realme, ſpoyled by the Scottis Piratis, whereof there is great number of complainers, as more particuler wilbe vnderſtood by their ſeuerall complaintis giuen to the Ambaſſadour herevpon.

As touchinge the recepcion of ſuch as the ſaid Ambaſſadour termes declared rebells and traytours, which matters aboue all others is ſo vehemently proſecuted, her Maieſty proteſted, &c.

And yet notwithstanding, for removeinge of all iealouſie from her brother the Kinge of Scotlande his minde, of any their ill behauiour, through remayneinge on the frontyer, ſuch order ſhalbe giuen, that with ſpeed they ſhalbe retyred ſo farre within this realme, that all ſuſpicion therof ſhalbe avoyded, there to remaine vnto ſuch tyme that further order may be taken thereanent, according to the ſinceritye of the ſaid Kinge her brother his meaneinge towardis her Maieſtye, and the certifficacion thereof to be made to her Maieſtye by the ſaid Ambaſſadour.

As touchinge Martine Alletts late complaint. The Wardens of the Marches, without knowledge of her Maieſtye, or adviſe of her counſell, conſtrayned through neceſſitye, as appeares to haue remedied diuers infolen-cyes comitted vpon the ſubiectis of Englande by the ſaid Martine, who is a greate author and mayntayner of diſordered perſons, aſſembled them-

felues together, in no fuch great power as is alledged, and fought the faid Martine to his owne howfe, where, we are informed, no great harme is done, and if any extraordinary hurte or fskaythe be comitted, the Comiffioners, which fhallbe ordeyned to mete, may haue power to take order thereanent, according to the lawes of the Borders.

NOTES REGARDING THE MASTER OF GRAY'S PRACTICES AGAINST
QUEEN ELIZABETH.¹

THAT the Master of Gray hath bene priuie to fome of the late practifes, forreine and domestically, againft her Maieftie, in fauor of the Scottifh Quene, as may be probably coniectured by,

1. His inward familiaritye and continuall traffique in France with thofe of the houfe of Gwife, of whome he hath receaued extraordinary favour;—the Bifhops of Glafco² and Roffe,³ by whose means, it is reported, he tafted of the Popes bounty;—the Spanifh Ambaffador refident in France, of whome, as himfelf is faid to haue confeffed, he was at his comeinge out of France prefented with a cupboard of plate valued to 5 or 6000 crownes.

2. His like continewall intelligence with other her Maiefties coniured enemyes and rebellious fubiectis, as Morgan,⁴ and others, and fugitives there.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 137, fol. 163.

² James Bethune was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1552, and held the See till the Reformation, when he retired to France, and was afterwards appointed Queen Mary's ambassador at the French Court.

³ John Lesley was inducted to the See of Ross in 1566.

⁴ Thomas Morgan, one of Queen Mary's secretaries, whom she sent into France as the receiver of the rents of her dowry there. Morgan, in a letter to Queen Mary, 9th April 1585, thus writes regarding his correspondence with the Master of Gray.—“Now that Gray hath, I heare, dishonorably acquitted himfelfe of your Majesty's service, there be some instrumentes that lay to me, that I procured his credit here, and with your Majesty he was commended out of Scotland by Father Holt, to some others of that Societie here, who gave him all the credit they cold to the Duke of Guise; and my Lord of Glasgo entertained Gray with great respect of him, and all matters were to him imparted, God is my witnesse, never by me, but he colde tell me many particulars, which when I hearde, I was sorry

3. The speciall recomendacions giuen of him by the Scottis Quene to the King her sonne, and his favour and credite with him in the present revolucion and change of thingis there.

4. The speciall trust reposed in him before some others her approved fervantis, in the kepeinge and dispensing of the money brought home by Ballandine, a little before the late Road of Sterlinge, to such uses as were designed by her and her instruments in France.

5. The good offices he hath done since his returne into Scotland in her favour, and furtherance of hir purposes.

6. His reception and enterteynement of Nugent the Irish fugitive with his companion, rettyred of late into Scotland, specially recommended and addressed to him, and harboured in his fathers house; with the like reception giuen to Fulgiambe his companion, now fugitives.

7. His confessed relievinge of Fulgiambe with 300 crownes out of his store, by the Scottish Quenes direction. With other like particularities, which may suffice to prove boeth the mans former affections towardis her Maiesty and her state, howsoever he be now enclyned, and his ablenes, in some degrees, to discover *le pot aux roses*, if he list to speake plaine language.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.¹

MADAME, to fullfill the promise I made in my last lettre unto your Maiesty, I have written the present at length, although with regret, for the great

to heare that the same were so dispersed; and thereof I advertised your Majesty, testifying the devotion he shewed to have to your Majesty's service. And indeede I thought that a gentleman of his qualite and religion cold never so ingratefullye and undutifully forget himselfe towardes his Soverayne Ladye and Mistresse; and so I hope your Majesty will not impute to me anye blame for his lewde parts, whereof he shall heare at my handes if I live to speake with him."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 442.

¹ Harl. MSS. No. 290, fol. 146. This letter is subscribed in cypher, and indorsed 'A cōpye of A.B. letter unto M.S.' But it bears internal evidence of being from the Master of Gray.

good will which I have borne ever to your service, since I was of age to know my duty, maketh me greatly to lament that all my meaning should be construed wrong. This I speak not without a great ground: For that same man Fontinie,¹ whom it pleased your Maiefty to recomend unto me in your last letter, hath used himselfe so undutifully to me, that I cannot imagine he durst haue enterprised the same, without speciall commandement from youe, as he effect hath declared. For he did shew unto the Kings Maiefty a letter which he said was written by youe, wherein was contayned a counsell and advise that his Maiefty should not trust or confide any wayes in me, by reason that youe were assuredly perswaded, and had truly learned, that I had turned my cloke, and had taken another course, the which, if his Maiefty should follow, it should be bothe his ruine and your owne. This letter it pleaseth his Maiefty to shew unto me, because he had no suspicion in any sort of me, seeing he knew best what I ever said unto him, or what course I had counselled him to follow. Madame, if this letter were written by your Maiefty, I esteeme my good will very evile requited, and the recompence of my more earnest meaning unto your service very badd; for although it had ben so, yet your Maiefty should first have written the truth, and advertised myself, and if youe had found it, then to have used the next meane, and not, without all evident apparence, to have pressed so to disgrace me to my Master: Yet, Madame, I have such confidence in your wisdom, that I perswade myselfe the letter was the knaves owne invencion. If so it was that your Maiefty knew not of it, I beseech your Maiefty that I may have reason of him, and that your Maiefty write unto all your friends in France, and to your Ambassadour, the very truth of thinges; for I know there are advertisements very falsely spread of me, both forth of this country and Scotlande. I think your Maiefty will the rather do this, that some injury he hath donne unto your Maiestys owne service. For indeed I thought my service worth litle, if it deserved not thanckes; and I assure your Maiefty, unto the tyme I receive your promise, that this youe shall performe in effect, I will, in no sorte, medle with any thing that appertayneth to

¹ Fontenay was one of Queen Mary's French secretaries. He was banished Scotland for calumniating the Master of Gray.—See letter in this collection, p. 41.

your service; besides, that ever I shall accompt myself an example to all men, to be over frank in dealing in it. If it be indeede, pat the letter was written by yourself, I accompt myself very ungratfully used, (if so be a poore subject may capitulate with his prince,) and in that the yong man not in any fort to have fayled, feing what he did was donne by your commandement. Of force I must needs comport; yet shall not leave to do pe generall, which duty commanded me to do; but one thing I sweare, that if it might advantage me ten millions of gold, and disadvantage me my head, pat never, while I live, shall I medle with any your service in perticuler; and comit to this paper to dischardg me wholly of it in tyme to come. As I have already said, [if the letter] were not written at your Maiestys commandement, I crave only at this tyme your Maiestys promise pat for the weale of your owne affaires, I may have reason of the knave who did pe wrong. How ever it was, I esteeme myselfe very evill handeled, that your Maiesty should preferre pe advertisement of a prating knave, to the experience youe have already had of my good will to pe avancement and well doing of your affaires. I marvaile greatly, (with many others), that your Maiesty ever employed such a fantastique creature, who is neyther wise, secreat, nor experienced, feing youe had a sufficient prouf how he was accompted of in Spaine, and what fruct he reported of his negociacion. For my owne part, at this tyme, I shew him freely I would in no wyfe deale with him, and assured him his owne insufficiency would be the cause his negociacion would take litle or no effect; for there was no man whosoever about pe King, whome he touched not with his misreports, and honor and reputacion, and myself in diverse wayes, as in alleaging that I had receaved a thousand rose nobles from the Queene of England. This his Maiesty did shew me, in his owne face, who, knowing his owne unhoneft dealing, asked me pardon for it, simply without any excuse; pe which he dare not deny, if so it shall please your Maiesty to ask of him. This, Madame, is the very truth of his deportemente in Scotland, and the only occasion why he proffited nothing there; and if it had not ben for that respect which I did beare unto your Maiesty, and that he was a straunger, in recompence of that he misused me, I should have cutt both his eares. There is another gentleman in Scotland equall with

this in wyfedome, and nothing inferior in pratling, who hath, in lyke manner, written finiftroufly of me to the Bifhopp of Glasquo, and þe Jefuifts. The man is yong Fintry. But your Maiefty knoweth that he came into Scotland only to be at their devocion, without any perticuler respect eyther to your Maieftys affaires, or the King my mafter. But I hope at my returne, I fhall do good will to pay him home againe, and fend him the way he came. I care no thing his mifreporting to thofe people, for it is long fince I did write unto your Maiefty that I would in no fort follow their advife in thinges, for I knew them to be very perticuler to them felves, refpecting no thing els but their owne advancement in greatnes and creadit without þe world. Therefore, Madame, although I love my religion as well as any Jefuift, or other Priest in Europe, I fhall befeech your Maiefty not to follow any more their violent counfell. Albeit your Maiefty writs that nothing fhall caufe the Queen of England do more willingly then feare, yet this feare would be joyned with lenity and friendship, for this Counfell here is not fo bairnely, but they can very well diftinguifh feare in mouthes, from that which hath great appearance, and are not to be afraide of wordes. And for my owne part I fee not þe appearance þat fhall affray them, nor yet the effect, and to fpeak truly I have given the Kings Maiefty this counfell, that he leane not any way to forrayne ayde, feing the furtheft ever I did yet fee exceeded not faire promifes. And this, Madame, if eyther youe or he leane to, it may deceave youe. Therefore, Madame, þe fame counfell I give unto your Maiefty, and befeeche youe remark it well, feeinge þe end of your defeigne is to be fucceffor to þe Crowne of Englande, my opinion is, that all violent courfes are injurie unto it, in two refpects. The firft, if youe fhould pretend any violence againft þe prince þat now reigneth, it were enough to animate fo þe fubiects hearts againft youe, that with great paine fhould they ever acknowledge any of youe for their prince, expecting the lyke violence to be ufed againft þemfelves, having ben faithfull fubiects in her tyme; and it is not unknowen unto your Maiefty what feare they have of this kind of violence in this contry, for the which caufe they have intituted their new affociacion, and fo farre as I can learn, the people is very willing to imbrace it. I will not infift

any more to discourse of it, feing youe have already seene it. The second respect, I take it from the people, who being the only louers of peace, shall ever be enemy to all, who, in any sort, by any kind of meanes, or violent course, shall alter or disturbe their common tranquillity, feing that spoyle them of their geire. Therefore, Madame, as I shall answer, first to God, and next unto the King my master, and your Maiesty, my opinion is, that youe follow some solide, calme and quiet course, as most advantageous for the accompyshment of your desseigne, and that in effect your Maiesty take with the Queen of England some honest, frendly, and quiet dres, to the end that during her lyfe, without all jealousy, she possesse that which hath ben provided to her by God, and if so it please him, after her, your Maiesty and the King your sonne may enter with contentment, both to yourselves and your subjects, into a peacable kingdome. Your Maiesty may object, that in all overtures friends are to be retayned. I assent very well to that, but these friends must be others then forrayners, although I will grant that forraine friends are not to be trayned, but entertayned in very honorable termes. But the friends that shalbe most sure, are the subjects of Scotlande. And for this cause, Madame, I shall ever give the Kings Maiesty counsell to entertaine a firm and settled quietnes in his owne country, with his owne and among his owne subjects, and to quench all trifle particulers, feing they may be impeachment of his further weale and greater comodity. This farre, Madame, I have written, to the end your Maiesty may know the King your sonnes will and intencion, and the occasion of my voyage, not to have proceeded upon such grounds as are contayned in this your last letter, for, I assure youe I shall never be the instrument of any seperacion or division betwene youe and the Kings Maiesty your sonne, and this I will profess in presence of all Scotlande and England. As for the Earle of Arran, or any his actions, I will not answer. And thinck not, Madame, that I eyther follow or haud on him, or any other subject in Scotlande or England, but that I accompt myself in fellowship with the best. And yet, Madame, as I write unto youe oft before, I cannot perceave the Earle of Arran to be enemy in your Maiestys affaires. To be plaine with your Maiesty, the King my master hath not

given unto me commandment to deale in all things conjointly, as if the associacion were perfected in effect, but yet his will is, that I do for your Maiefty in all things that may tend to your weale and contentment; but of truth, (saying better advise), it is more fitt for your Maiefty that the King enter into solide frendship with þe Queen of England particularly, and then to dresse for youe, as his Mother, with her who then shalbe his frende. And thincke not, Madame, þe Kingis Maiefty to be so barnelike, that faire offers, without the apparant effect to follow, shall content him, as that I, his messager, am so destitute of good reason, that I cannot very well decerne the shadow from the verity. Uppon this, Madame, with all diligence I crave your answere.

Nowe rests to shew your Maiefty, that I have had conference with Monsieur de Maluifer,¹ whome I finde to be the same man your Maiefty declareth him to be. Emong other conference he asked me, whether it were true that Fontaine had said to the King my master, that he was altogether affected to the Queen of England, and that his Maiefty should not trust in him. In this I shewed him the very truth, and it was, that Fontaine did speake it to þe King. In this, Madame, I esteeme him as evill handeled as my self, for I have ever perceaved hitherto by his letteris, and now by him self, that he is no lesse willing to see as good successe of your Maiestys affaires, and the King your sonnes, then if he were your owne naturall subject. Therefore, as I desire for myself, so desire I that he may be satisfied, and prayeth, that hereupon I may have your Maiestys answere, for I beleve it shall not be permitted that at this tyme I shall see your Maiefty, but I shall assay to have lycence to one of the gentlemen who are here with me, to visite your Maiefty on the Kings Maiestys part and my owne. I thank your Maiefty most humbly, that youe have written to þe King my master, in favour of suche as I

¹ Michael de Castelneau, or Chateauneuff, Seigneur de Malvissier, the French ambassador at the English court. Through him the partizans of Queen Mary appear to have corresponded with her Majesty. "The Bishop of Glasco received not three dayes agoe a pacquett from Mauvessier; though theie have no good opinion of Mauvessier's sufficiency, yet theie keepe in with him, and serve theire turns of him, and, in my opinion, theie have their intelligence to and from the Queen of Scotts by his meanes. Howe he getteth ytt to and from her I knowe not."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 410.

did recomend unto youe. But as for Caualyon, I never intended to place him in any farther estate with the Kings Maiefty, then to ferve him as a generall Secretary, for there is no man more scrupulous to committ great affaires to petty companions then I am. Uppon the report that the last yere Mr Archibald Dowglas¹ was imprifoned, for having negotiated in your Maieftys affaires, and for that I understand he followeth no courfe offensive to the King my master, I have privily spoken with him, and finde him a very honest, wyfe man. As for the changing of your Ambaffadour in France, it shalbe best the Kings Maiefty be first acquainted with it, to the end the next man be chofen to his contentment. And I esteeme it shalbe very hard to find any worthy for it, yet the best is to be chofen.

Claude Hamilton² is already gone into Scotland, to the great mifcontentment of all the Kings rebelles and enemies, where he keepeth himfelfe quiet. Your Maieftys man, litle William Dowglas, is lately departed into France, and hath left affygation to the two thousand franks he hath lying on bank in Paris. The Laird of Eifter Weymes, who hath come hither out of France, hoping to have obteyned lycence to have spoken with your Maiefty, but that was refused him. So I will request your Maiefty in his favour, that the will of the dead be kept unto him, and that no other prevent him at your Maieftys hands ; and in recompence I hope he shall do youe good service. Your Maiefty shall excuse me that I request for my frends, for I shall never request for my self, untill it shall please God to putt youe in better estate. As for other thingis contayned in your Maieftys letter, which presently I will not specifie, I shall not faile, God willing, to accomplish them to your Maieftys contentment. For, as I have already donne, (if I shalbe well used), I shall never spare lyfe nor geere in all your Maieftys honest accions, and this your Maiefty shall trust and perfwade your selfe, ever till pe effect declare pe contrary. I have written the present in Scottish, and in open

¹ Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow. Many of his letters to the Master and others will be found in this collection.

² Lord Claude Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, fourth son of James second Earl of Arran.

letter, because of þe fure conveyance, but the next shalbe more short and secreat, because that my hand writing is knowen in this Court. I beleive your Maiefty shall with difficulty read this counterfait scribbling. So, ceasing to importune your Maiefty with tedious discourse, after having most humbly kiffed your Maieftys hands, I pray God, Madame, to fend youe a long and happy lyfe, with better health and greater contentment then hitherto. At London, 22 of November, 1584.

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

GRAY, si ces seruices et bons offices, lesquels vous m'auiez tousiours offertz, meuz (Je croye) par vray conscience et cognoissance de deuoir vers vostre Royne et mère de vostre Maistre, par elle receu en pareille dignité comme son vnique enfant et cher heritier, ne m'eussent pouffée à vous recommander comme jeune homme de bonne race et de recommandables vertus, Je pense que vous pourriez plus aisément vous laisser aller, comme jeune, aux persuasions de ceux qui ne désirent que leur particulier commodité, négligent ne bien publique et seruices de leurs Maistres. Mais comme en cela vous prétendez que tort vous vous est faict, faictes premier paroistre vos effectz sincères, et sans particularité, considérant que c'est qu'importe le denier de ce, que mon fils a accepté de moy, vous le sçauiez Je croy, sinon J'ay de quoy le monstrier et assez des témoins au besoing. Mais ja à Dieu ne plaife, que mon fils fust si mal conseillé de me contraindre à cela, vous deuiez parlant à moy de la part de mon fils, prendre mes aduis vous le sçauiez. Or, Je vous dis comme J'ay tousiours

¹ From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 162.

faict, soit ou d'une façon ou d'une aultre, Je ne veulx point de diuision, d'entre moy et mon enfant. Et que Je veux, luy laissant tout le gouuernement et biens de ma propre volonté, l'asseurer de la juste possession, et ne demander que l'auctorité deue à mère, telle que Je suis, luy ne désaduoue plus donques l'affociation entre nous, si vous ne voulez mettre son tiltre en doubte, et m'effortre d'y proceder par vn aultre voye. Car pour vous dire en vng mot, Je pense faire honneur et deuoir de bonne mère à mon fils de le faire mon compaignon à traictre. Et qu'il traicte pour moy quiconque luy a mis cela en auant, n'est qu'un sot et vng traistre. Mon fils a l'honneur de mon costé et moy rien du sien : quell contentement de le voir vertueux, et en chemin de prospérer ! Je prétends de despendre entièrement de la Roïne d'Engleterre, Madame ma bonne foeur, comme sa plus proche parente, de faire une perpetuelle ligue avecques elle et entre nos pays, qu'a tousiours esté la promesse de mon fils, de me fuiure en ses plus importantes affaires. Ceste cy c'est la plus Je m'asseure qu'il ne gouftera pas me desobeyr voir me griefuement offendre faisant le contraire, veu que tout ce que Je suis, c'est plus pour son bien que le mien, duquel mes maulx ennuieux m'ont faict perdre tout goust sinon pour luy : s'il recule, J'appelle Dieu et tous les Princes Chrestiens à téfmoïn, que J'ay faict deuoir de bonne mère, et que quoy luy en aduiendra après, il en aura gré à ceulx qui font de ce conseil pris contre sa promesse, et celle de—Je n'en dirai pas d'auantage, vous m'entendrez, et vous souuienne que ce n'est vers moy qu'il fault dissimuler ou vser de commandement. Et Je ne croyra jamais que mon fils soit changé vers moy, ne luy en ayant donné aucune occasion ; mais Je me fais forte que tiendra la parolle et ce sans dissimuler se monstrea naturel et obéissant fils. Et quant à vostre particulier, Je m'asseure que si oyez l'importance de ceste variation entre mon fils et moy, vous amyeriez mieux mourir que de mettre la main entre le bois et le corps, comme vostre commission l'importe. Et semble quant à vostre particulier vous estes mal informé, comme par après Je vous fairay entendre, et que le vent vient d'ailleurs que ne pensez ; avec le temps vous l'entendrez avec satisfaction, comme Nau vous pourra tesmoigner, le quel, tant pour le crédit qu'il a de moy que les bons offices qu'il vous a tousiours faictz en mon endroict,

vous pouuez bien croire: pour le moins, il est si entier et affectionné au seruice et de moy et de mon fils, qu'il n'a garde de préférer son particulier, ny par la langue faire tort à quelque ce soit. Et pour ce Je vous prie croyez le et faictes de bons offices, aduertissant mon fils en combien mauuaise part Je prendray ceste nouuelle inventée course, en ce faissant vous pourrez asseurer de ma bonne volonté vers vous et les vostres. A Dieu—qu'il vous ayt en sa garde. Wingfield, ce xiiij de Décembre, 1584.

Vostre bonne amie,

MARIE R.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.¹

TRUSTIE, &c.—Your letteris, conteyneinge an offer, grounded vpon the King your Soueraignes comaundment of your service vnto vs, one whome, next vnto him, you protest to reuerence abou all other princes, giueth vs iuste cause to testifie by theis our letteris our thankfull acceptacion of the fame. And for that it semeth that the continuance thereof, on your behalf towardis vs, dependeth altogether of our constant and freindly dealing towardis your said Soueraigne, in respect of his vowed good will towardis vs, before all other princes, wherin you wish folide correspondencye, we hope that we haue euer, since his first beinge, geuen so good testimonye of our love and affection towardis him, and of a singuler care we haue alwayes had of his well doeing, as there is no cause that may iustlye be taken by anye, that are not parcially affected, to doubt of our perseuerance therein, if we shall finde in him a thankfull acknowledgment and requytall towardis vs in that behalf, as we doe nowe assure our selues we shall: For we are not easilye carryed, especially by such as you note to haue made shipwrack of honestye, to varie or altour our course to-

¹ From the original Minute in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 134, fol. 161, dated 21st Dec. 1584.

wardis fuch as fhall continue conftant in well meaneing towardis vs. And, therefore, for your felf, as the groundis of your affection towardis vs femeth to be chiefly buylt vpon our good vſage of your Soueraigne, fo accordingly as you fhall carrye yourſelf towardis him, with that duetye that appertayneth to a ſeruant that poſſeſſeth that portion of credit that you doe, with a maſter of qualitee as he is, you may aſſure yourſelf we fhall, from tyme to tyme, eſtyme of you as by effectis you fhall finde in fo honorable forte, when opportunitye ſhalbe offred, as you fhall haue no cauſe to fore think the great devocion and good will you profeſſe, or rather to vowe, towardis vs. And as touching this gentleman your freind, we doe not finde in him that francknes in revealeinge vnto vs ſuch practiſes as were intended againſt vs, wherewith we knowe he was made acquainted, as we looked for, conſideringe the aſurance giuen, boeth by the Kings letteris, and your owne, vnto our couzen of Hunſdon, in that behalf. Some thingis in generality he hath deliuered vnto vs, whereof the greateſt parte were before well knownen vnto vs. But if he would haue dealt as confidently therein, as he hath dealt paſſionately in the purſuyte of the diſtreſſed noblemen retyred into this our realme, we ſhuld then haue had better cauſe to like of his procedeing, though we muſte nedes confeſſe, that otherwiſe he hath carryed himſelf in that good forte, as we are glad the King, our good brother, hath ſo rare and faithfull a ſervant.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING JAMES VI.¹

N'AYANT iamais de voſtre part ouy que vous feiſſiez difficulté aulcune iuſques à preſent, de forte que le langage que Gray en a tenu. Si au contraire m'a ſemble merueilleuſement eſtrange, ne me doubtant iamais ny que vous que J'aime ſi chèrement, ny luy qui m'avoit donné tant d'aſſeurences de ſon ſervice, euſſiez voulu me deuancer en aulcun traicté

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108, where this article is dated 5 Jan. 1584. See foot note, p. 8.

par deça à mon désavantage, et luy donner pluſtoſt le tort, ou à quelque particulier qui l'a dirigé, qu'à vous. Si c'eſt le Compte d'Arran, remenez luy que J'ay encores ſes lettres, avec celles de divers aultres. Seigneurs pour l'approbation et confirmation de noſtre affiliation, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.¹

SIR, it vil pleaſe you, I vret of befor a priuie pacquet to Baruik directit to Capitaine Caruel,² bot þe lacky, not finding him thair, retournit me my letteris, ſo þat I knew not by quhat moyen to fend my letteris, til yifterday I reſeiuit aduertifment frome Capitane Caruel þat he lay at Beucaſtell, on þe Veſt Mairtches; yit þe vay is ſo vncertaine þat it vil be hard to mak a dayly vſe of conuoy by it, vitche makis me be þe more earneſt to de-ſyr you prouyd fume fure moyen þe vitche I ſhall vſe. And alſo, I vil ſkairſe be ſo plaine preſently, as otheruays I vold be if I kneu of a fure moyen, bot you ſhall knaw forder by fume vther meine. I haue directit a pacquet to my Lord Hunſdoun, conteining one vnto hir Maieſty, as you vil ſee. As it pleaſit hir Maieſty to account better of þe diſchairge of my comiſſion, þan any merit of myn deſeruit, ſa it haith the pleaſit the King my maifter to allou verie veil of my anſueris, as you vil ſee his auin letteris giue ſuffiſient teſtimonie, as lykuayis of þat gryt good vil he doethe beare to þe Queene your ſouueraigne, and I ſpeik it in conſcience it is meint in effect; þairfor I pray you to be a good inſtrument for þe continuance of it, for althocht þe King vas verie evil informit of your good vil touardis him, yit I hoyp ſchortly it ſhalbe maniſeſtit þat he nou accountis them leiers, for in deid I declarit vnto his Maieſtie treuly futché diſpoſition as I fand in you. I muſt neidis pray you of one thing, þat you be no henderer to lat þe bainiſt gentlemen pas furthe of Ingland for

¹ From the original Cott. MSS. C. IX. art. 43, fol. 95. This letter is indorsed in a contemporaneous hand, 'From the Master of Gray—Kings association with his mother.'

² Robert Carvyle, one of the Captains of Berwick. He was frequently employed in conveying correspondence between the English and Scottish courts.

a feason, and in þat doing it ſhall be found you ar their verie gryt freind, for þair name is nou ſo odiouſe to þe King þat the more any man mak for them, the vors is thair eſtet; ſo þat the grytyſt veil preſently thay can haue, is to avoid all occaſion of jalouſie, and abyd tym, and I aſſur you tym vil be þair gryteſt freind þan any thing ellis. I haue vrittin my opinion frely in þis maiter vnto hir Maieſtie, þe vitche, I beleue, ſhalbe participat vnto you. Thair ennemis be in very gryt crediet, yit vithe futche a continuall feare, as I rather be dead than continually deing, if I ver in þe lyk caes. I prayſe God my crediet augmentis dayly vithe my Maiſter, ſo þat I haue þe better moyen to interferm the freindſchip begune betuene thair Maieſties; feu vthers preſently haiſe any gryt crediet, bot þe Earle of Arrane. The Secretaire, Mr Maitlaine, is in good favouris, yit not in ſpeciall crediet. Ther be many gryt jalouſeis preſently amongis our ſelfis, yit ve comport þe beſt ve may. The tym is verie feit preſently, þat ſume gentleman be ſend heir vithe horſis to his Maieſtie, for he ves verie glaid quhan I ſhoued him, þat hir Maieſtie would ſend him ſume opine token of opiny profeffit freindſchipe. The ſouner þe gentleman come it ſhalbe þe better, for þan you ſhall be more plainly, and at gryter lenthe, aduertifit of all thingis in theis pairtes. The King is marvelouſly comoueit preſently, at þe euil handeling of me by his mother, and that day I diſchargit myſelf of my embaffad, it ves votit in one voice by all his Counfell, þat the Afociation ves a thing verie dyſauantageuſe bothe for þe King his Maieſtie and countr , and conſequently vorthy to be anulit for euer. So as he haiſe auouit me by his auin letteris to hir Maieſtie, þat it ves neuer concludit ſo, nor heirefter it ſhall neuer fall in queſtion. And becaus it ves ſumquhat ſlandrous þat Nau haid ſaid, þe Quene, his Maieſtie his mother, haid þe moyen to caus him put vater in his vyn, þe Counfell thoct it meit þat Fontainie, hir man, ſould mak furthe of the countr ; ſo he is to obey vithe the firſt comoditie. Befor my homecoming he has maid a thouſand leiſings, and amongeſt diuers vþers, he ſaid þat his brother Nau haid maid him aduertifment, þat I had promiſit in England to kil þe Earle of Arrane; ſo it being reueilit, I ves ſumquhat vrothe vithe him, and intendit to haue reuengit one him þe querel I bare, bothe agenſt his brother and him ſelf, bot his Maieſtie commandit me þe contraire. I vil vryt no more þis

vay til I heir frome you. It vil please you participat þis letter to my Lord Leicefter, and your sone Sir Philip Sidnie. I have vrittin to bothe; bot quhan I find a more sure commoditie I fall more plainly vryt. I intendit to haue vritten to hir Maiestie by þis vay, a resolution of fume things I promisit by my last letter, bot, as yit, I can not, becaus I haue not, as yit, ful resolution my self; bot it vil please you, Sir, excuse me, and pray hir Maiestie to keip it secreet þat I vryt to you, for auoyding of jalousie. Remember þat my Lord Hunsdoun vrytt, the quhair you know. I tak leue, efter haueing kissit your handis, and committis you, Sir, to God his holy protection. Att Hollyrud hous þis 24 of January, 1584.

Your verie affectionat freind
to do you seruice,

Master of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable his speciall good
freind, Sir Francis Valsingham, Cheiffe
Secretarie to hir Maiestie, and one of
hir honorable Privie Counsell.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.¹

PLEASE YOUR MAIESTIE, of leat thair haithe bein a copie of a letter divulgat in this country, and at lenthe fallin in his Maiestie his handis, vitche is spokin to haue beine vrittin by your Maiestie vnto the Lord Maxuell, promising him assistance in this his foolish attempt.² In caice you do

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 67, fol. 140. The second page has originally been written with invisible ink, and brought out by some chemical agent, but it is now unfortunately illegible, with the exception of a word here and there.

² The 'foolish attempt' evidently alludes to the insurrection of Lord Maxwell, lately created Earl of Mortoun, in favour of the banished Lords, which commenced by his attack

not find all thingis permitit, according as ves promisit by þe King his Maieftie his Ambaffador, yit his Maieftie would in no vayis beleue, til futche tym as he micht know of your felf, quhou far in this propofe haid bein knowin vnto your Maieftie, vitche is the occasion of my prefente importunitie and bouldnes: For althocht, if the letter be frome your Maieftie, the King, my maifter, is a litle intereftit, yit I, as a poor minifter of his, eftime my felf more, feing it is eneuche to lofe all credit I haue vithe his Maieftie, haveing promisit more of your Maieftie hir pairt than he fhall fee effectual, and yit no more than that your vryt fhall fufficiently testifie. Quhairfor I pray moft humbly your Maieftie, ether to aduertis, or caufe me be aduertifit, if the letter proceidit frome you, or if it be donne of propofe be þe faid Lord Maxuell, as in deid I tak it to be. Quhoeuer it be, vell I am affurit to heir þe treuthe from your Maieftie, feing vtheruayis it fhallbe verie preiudicyable to my crediet, the vitche, if I lofe, your Maieftie vil find þe lofe gryter than þe neu conquieft freindfchipe. So taking leue, I kis moft humbly your Maieftie hir handis. At the Scottife Court þis 29 of April, 1585.

Your Maiftie hir moft humble feruiter,

Maifter of Gray

A la Ma^{te}.

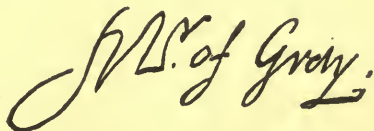
De la Royne d'Angleterre

on the Johnstons, and ultimately succeeded by the surprise of the King at Stirling in November following. 'Vpone the vj of Apryle 1585, Robert Maxvell, brother to the Erle of Mortoun, brunt the Laird of Johnstounis house of Lochivood, and being accompanied with sundrie freindis, tuik a great number of his men.'—*Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 52.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.¹

SIR, my leafur permittis me not þat I can vryt to you particularlie, bot vithein thre dayis you ſhalbe aduertifit of all þing heir at lenthe, for to impert to my freindis in theis pairtis. In þe mid tym, I haue vretin to my Lord Leiceſter and to Mr Secretarie, who vil impert thair letteris to you. I pray you interteine me in þair good grace. I feir I be conſtrainit to imploy them, for I am hardly preffit by my vnfreind. So I defyr you to ſpeik to the Quene þat I ſhall do no thing, except my lyf be in dainger, bot if I find it ſo, you ſhall perfuad hir þat it is meiter I be to þe fore than hir ennemie, and fend me hir opinion of þis point. Mr Votton is verie honourably reſaueit of his Maieſtie, and for my awin pairt, I ſhall do good vil þat he ſhall haue cauſe to lyk of my ſelf. I remit all vther thingis to þe uther tuo letteris, and committ you to Goddis holy protection. Frome our Court at Holyrud þis laſt of May, 1585.

Your affectionate freind,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Mr. of Gray'.

To his varie affectionat freind
Mr Archibald Douglas.

Sen Roger² pairtit I haue diſkifferit him to be a knaiſ better than of befor, bot I caire not; lat him incur no ſkaithe.

Remember me oft to Sir Philip Sidney.

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 66, fol. 139.

² There is written on the back, in a contemporaneous hand, 'Rog. Ashton doubted.' He was an English Messenger between the Courts of England and Scotland.

FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY LORD AND BROTHER, I hewe refewet ane letter from his Maiestie, verray scharp, desyring me to wreit þe heill purpoisis þat was betwix Sir William Stewart² and me yesterday, as oft ye mouet. I said to him, vithin ten dayis, I fwold heire presentlie to þe hwrt of fwm mon about his Grace, quhilk gif I wald declair þe verray trewth, I fwold heue his Heihnes fauor and preface foner nor I belewit. I hewe wretine at lenth þe hiele fircumstainces of þat matier to his Maiestie to þe reporteing of them, as falbe manifest, praying you to geit þe fyght of my said letter, þat ye may be af-furit of [my] honest part in that, as becumis me of my honour. Now, Sir, I am glad, vith my hert, that thair ewill will towartis me manifestis to fek formis of deling; to be schort, quhair I am oblisit to beir gud will, I falbe treu and constant. Gif my Lord of Arran, or Sir William, vill allage any thing in my naime þat I reportit to tham, I fall cawyse tham eit in thair wordis in thair throt. Theirfoir be of gud cwrage, and cair nocht thair vikkit inwention. Do quhat thay can, prowying we hewe the King our Maiestys gud fauor, albeit thay ar knawin to be fik men as they ar, yet lat nocht þe Secretar nor þe Justice Clark dowl of my honestie, quhom onto I profes freindschip, nor your Lordship quhom in herte I fa grytlie esteime; as your brother James,³ and Thomas Tyrir⁴ will in þat schaw you

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 203.

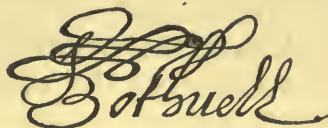
² ' This Sir William Stewart was in his qualiteis and behavior na thing different from his brother, the Erle of Arran; a testimonie whereof he utterit in uncumlie words, upon a day in the Kings chalmer, aganis Francis Erle Bothwell. The said Bothwell having regarde to the place, said na thing for that tyme; bot within this tyme that Maxwell is his preasoner in Edinburgh, it fortunit Bothwell and Sir William to encounter with thair cum-paneis, whare Bothwell maid the first onset for the former injurie, accompaneit with a broder of Patrik Maister of Gray, whome Sir William had delatit of before; and after a light combat Sir William was killit out of hand.' This event occurred in 1588.—*Hist. of James the Sext*, p. 237.

³ James Gray of Davidstoun, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber.

⁴ It is probable that Thomas Tyrir, or Tyrie, was the son of David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, who married Liliass, fourth daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

at meir lenth. Swa, my hertlie commendationis being rememberit, I commit yow to þe protection of God. From Leith, þe xiiij of June, 1585.

Your Lordships meift lowing brother at power,



THE SPEACHES BETWEENE THE EARL BOTHWELL AND SIR
WILLIAM STEWART.¹

SIR WILLIAM STEWART demaunded, ‘What should be the occasion of the crymes betwixt my Lord of Arrane and me?’ Whome to I answered, ‘The innumerable breakes of his frendship never deferved by me.’

He replieth, ‘What if all those may be taken away, are you not willing to enter in friendshipp as of before?’ I answered, ‘By what manner?’ He answered, ‘I shall cause him oblige him self to gett you the Kingis Maiestys prefence, yet ere his Maiestie goe over the water.’ ‘In doing that, I should acquite my Lord of Arrane, as it apperteyned alwayes.’

‘Are you not willing to enter into an fure band of frendship with him?’ I answered, ‘That I could not, nor would not, enter with him, who had so shamefully broken his faeth and promise, till first hee obteyned me your Maiesties prefence, at what time I should enter with him, as he had deferved at my hands.’

‘Well, I knowe what makes you so hard to enter in frendship with him.’ ‘What is that?’

‘I knowe there is ten or twelve of you banded and confederate to the slaughter of the Erle of Arrane.’ ‘If you will say that I am banded, or that know any others to be banded, in his contrary, in that I will say you

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 171, fol. 201. These speeches are alluded to in the previous letter.

lyed. And yf I had knowne, I should never haue beene participant of no Stewartes skayth or blood.' 'Alwayes I knowe you to be entred of new with some who hates him deadlie.' 'Who are those?' 'You know them better then I.' 'It becomes me not to make any acquainted, but of my own free will.'

'Alwaies, and are ye not in frendship with the Master of Gray?' 'I am.' 'And the Secreter?' 'I haue no other occasion.' 'Yet I knowe you fauour them best of any man.' 'Truly it is of treuth, and shall fortifie and assist them in all their honest causes against all men, his Maiestie onlie excepted.'

'Well, are ye not in frendship with my Lord of Montrosse?' 'Hout, hout, what devill I haue to doe with my Lord of Montrosse, but in ane common manner.'

'Alwaies to returne to our purpose, knowe ye nothing of their pretences in my brothers contrar? I pray you tell me, and geue me your advise and counsayle.'

'As to knowe any thing to be done in his contrar, by God, I am not participant in noe wayes. But this ffar I knowe him to haue a generall misliking of the whole nobilitie and barons of this realme, so that all the whole countrey, were it deuided into tuenties, I am assured there would not be scarcelie one of each tuentie that would wishe him well.'

'Then geue me your counsell howe it may be mended?' 'By this only meane, *Præstat sero sapere quam nunquam*. Wott ye what that is? Better late thrive then never. Therefore my counsell is, that, if he be willing to conqueſſe the heartes of those which is loſed, he muſt be of a newe conuerſation; he muſt leave briberie and extraordinary extorcions, both of riche and poore, and caſt him to winne noble mens heartes, or elſe he will not fayle to lye in the myre.'

'My Lord, I will not trouble you anie longer; but I will goe to my Lord of Arrane, and I ſhall cauſe him ſatiffy you for all his bypaſt offences, which, if he fayle to doe, I ſhall then thrief my ſelf of him, and binde me to you againſt all whome foeuer.'

'Sir, I thanck you hartefully.' So we ended on Sunday, at three afternoone or thereby.

On Munday in the morning, moved by what motion I know not, where to see his love, or moved by some extraordinary occasion, he addresseth him self to Trebrin, where not having comoditie, wee delayed our whole conference, while we were on horseback coming to Edinburgh; where he began to enter in respect of our former purpose, and began so: ‘My Lord, if you would tell the truthe to the Kinges Maiestie of all thinges, you would gett his prefence.’ I answered, ‘By God, so far as I knowe.’

‘Then may I say to the Kinges Maiesty, that you will declare to his Maiestie them twelve noble men who are confederate and banded to take my Lord of Arranes life, or, at least, to debarre him his Maiesties prefence; or, may I say it in your name?’

‘In my name!’ I answered, before Mr Robert Hepburne, who heard the whole purpose. ‘Yes, I will say it to the Kinges Maiestie in your name.’ ‘Nay, an you say it, by Godis body, I will say that you lied like a knave in saying of it.’

‘Yet I may say that you are banded with the Maister of Gray and the Secreter?’

‘Nay, neither; for and ye say that, yet you lied. But say that I esteeme of the Master of Gray and the Secreter, as my most speciall frendis, and that say.

THE COPIE OF ERLE BOTHWELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.¹

I HAUE here sett downe vnto your Maiesty, the true discourse of the whole purpose passed betwixt vs, at both our meetings, which ended on a promes on his parte, that I should haue prefence this day, yf I would enter in frendship with the Erle of Arrane. Wherefore, seeing it is offered to me conditionally by other handis, and yet I haue your Highnes promes, both by my servant and your Maiesties last letter, that I shall haue it in Dumfermeling, I must insist that, as soone as it may seeme convenient to your Maiestie, I may be beholden in it to your Maiesties owne good will and favour. So praying your Maiestie to haue as great patience in the reading, as I haue had in the writing of it, after kissing of

¹ This article is referred to in Bothwell's letter to the Master of Gray.

your Maiesties handis, moste humbly, I take my leave, committing your Maiefty to Godis good proteccion. From Leyth the xiiijth of June, 1585.

HEADS OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO CAPTAYNE BRUCE FOR G. BY A.¹

SHEWE the Master of Gray the danger wherein he appeares to remayne, and that he needes not hereafter to look for any favour here, vnles he be able to make excufe for deedis past, which, in my opinion, he cannot be able to doe, without his vtter ruine, except he possesse our Soueraignes favour, that he may let him vnderstand.

POSTSCRIPT IN THE SAME INSTRUCCIONS BY A. TO G.

SIR, Theis proceedings are evill fallen out for the King his service, and worfe for your particuler welfare; and I cannot beleif that you would alter your former courfe, vnles you were entered on some other that you thinck better for his seruice and your owne weale. Yf so be, I pray you lett me knowe thereof, that I may retire my self in safety and honesty foorth of this realme, to followe your fortune whatfoeuer; ffor here wilbe no abiding for me, if theis banished Lordes shall receaue the comfort they looke for. What was prepared for you and frendes, if theis vnhappy newes had not interuened, the bearer can declare. I pray you haste the answere hereof and of the memoriall with expedition.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.²

SINCE the directing of my laste vnto you of the date of the foureteenth

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 193, fol. 226. Dated 20th Aug. 1585. This and the following letter appear to have been written by Mr Archibald Douglas, then at the English Court, to the Master of Gray.

² Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 194, fol. 226. This article is titled in the manuscript, 'A letter written in white inke from A. to G. the xxj. of August 1585.'

of Augufte, I haue beene diuers times at Courte, and haue affayed, by fuch fmall credit as I haue, to qualify fome of theis hard apprehenfions conceaved of our Soveraignes proceedinges. I perceave my travell can not prevayle, neither fee I howe this matter can be well helped, vnles fome matter in action be performed, whereby this inconstant dealing, fo termed by thofe of the Councell, may be removed. Her Maieftie doth vtter fpeeches that fhe would neuer haue beleueed that the King, or any of his wife Councell, would fo far ouer feene them felues, as to write one day to her that fuch and fuch matters fhould be performed, and on the next day thereafter, not abiding her anfwere, would then overthrowe the fame: fo manifefte a mockery, that noe gentleman of reputation would haue vfed the like to his inferiour or fervaunt. And as hir Maieftie and Counfailors are grieved at the manner of proceedinges, fo is there a number of gentelmen, frendes to the trefpaffed, wounded in minde, for the flaughter of the gentell man of fo greate expectacion; whereuppon there is occafion taken by vnfrendis to aggravate this matter in fuch manner, that hardly can any man or affured frend be found who will help to mittigate this matter; and that which may help this matter, I feare, will be fo vnpleafant to his Maiefty, that I will not prefume to open my parte of it. Theis banifhed Lordes are like, not only to finde the affiftance and fauour of all perfons grieved, but alfo to procure greater liberty, which, vnto this time, had been ftreight by th'only meane of Sir Francis Walfingham, the remanent Counfaylors, for the moſte parte, being abſent from Court. My Lord of Leiceſter is not yet returned, but by letters which I haue ſeene from his Lordſhip, he heavily lamented the manner of theis proceedinges, ſpecially bycauſe of the good appearance that might haue enſued, if matters had beene right followed out.

As I writte vnto you before that Andwerp was rendred, fo is it now The forme of the appointment ſhalbe ſent vnto you by the next. Her Maieſtye had receaued the countrey of Holand and Zeland, geuen vnto her by the Eſtates thereof, and hath but 9000 men for receaving poſſeſſion of ſuch townes as ſhuld be deliuered into her keeping. Theis twoo provinces, beeing the places in Chriſtianity moſt abundant in ſhippes, beene ioyned to this country, are thought able, not only to

defend them selves against all enemies that would invade of bothe, but also to stopp any other nation, but fuche as they please to approve in any porte of this Iland, or her Maiesties dominions; and hereuppon they haue founded the firste surety of this estate, and are not muche like to seeke the ayde of any foren Prince for establisshing of their surety. I pray God his Maiesty may be moved to devise some good meanes, whereby hir Maiesty may remayne contented of his proceedinges, and his Highnes recover the favour which he vniuersally had obteyned of this floureshing nation, abounding in wealth and riches. In France it is geuen out, that the King altogether mislikes of theis Guifardis, and that there doth appeare a peace to followe betwixt the King and Protestantes, whereby the former edict shalbe ratified, and the laste abolished. Poverty, and lack of mony to susteyne theis warres, is like to produce theis effectis, and that shortly. As matters falleth out you shal haue further aduertisement.¹

I began your letter with no small regard, bycause I feared the same cours to be in hand at this time, which of before I caused Thomas Milles, vnder secrett, to open vnto you. I moste hartely pray you to be wyse, and with your self to consider thereof. The opening of it may doe great harme, and keeping secrett with knowledge no small good. The remedy in theis matters for your particuler apperes to be this, to excuse your self by writt, and to move the King to deale by action hereafter, and yf you can be the doer your self, you will recover reputation to bothe. Before this can come to your handis, the Ambassadour will lett you to vnderstand what is reported of you, and committ to his eares, and he will desire to knowe the verity thereof of your self. But I think he will not let you vnderstand who is the reporter, bycause I would not obteyne so far commaund to be geuen vnto him. But this far I can not hide from you, the men that you suspect are the doers, which I pray you, most hartely, to keepe secrett, bycause the opening thereof wilbe my vtter discredite, and hurtful to yourself. The found of the report is this: You are the chief furtherer of Arenes liberty; hath receaved good deed for doinge thereof;

¹ The continuation of this letter, as stated in the MS., was written 'in white incke, of the same day, and to the same person, from A.'

is entred in dealing with the Jefuites; and vſeth diffimulacion in the courſes with England. The matter was very hardly taken here, ſpecially by her Maieſty, and heauily lamented by your ſpeciall freindis. And truly matters are entred in ſo hard apprehenſions, that I feare this inconstant kinde of dealinge of imprifoning at one day, and releaſing at another, without her adviſe, ſhall giue occaſion of ſpeech and thinking, at all times hereafter, that nothing ſhalbe beleevd of that which ſhall come from that countrey, except it ſhall conſiſt in actions. And, to ſpeake the truth, it was not well done to ſett Arren at liberty before returning of her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, by reaſon all men condemnes the King in that matter, eether of inconstancy, or then ſat it was done for ieſting with her Maieſty, which is very euil taken, as will appeare by her Maieſties letteris to the King. I haue travelled diuers times that her Maieſty might haue vſed ſome mitigation, but I perceave my labours will not prevayle, vnles his Maieſty make ſome amendement by action. So far as concerneth theis baniſhed Lordes, I ſee the whole frendis of Sir Thomas Ruſſell not only minded to giue them countenance and aſſeſtance, but her Maieſty is alſo begining to give eare to their petitions, and to cauſe queſtions of their force at home to be demaunded. *It wilbe dangerous to ſuffer that courſe to goe forwardes, by reaſon it cannot be called back when men would. In my opinion it ſhalbe well done to lay the perill open to his Maieſty,* and to lett him vnderſtand nothing can help that matter, and bring him in credite and favour here, as he was before, except doing by action; and no action can be able to help, but the releiving of the baniſhed Lordes, or then the deliury of Arren and Ferniherſt,¹ to be vſed at their pleaſure, or then the performing of both. I think reaſon ſhould move his Maieſty to remeid theis matters, before they come to further ripenes, otherwiſe when men would doe good, matters wilbe vnremedible, as I writ to you before that writ was loſt.

I dare make no recommendacion vpon this text leſt I ſhould eſeeme partiall.

¹ Sir Thomas Ker of Fairnihiſt.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.¹

MY HONOURABILL LORD. Albeit that finding my felf verie far interefit, by the to fodune aduertifment the Embaffadour maid of me, I affuret him that I would not deall forder in maiters, til I fould haue bein fatiffiet: yit, feing the King, my Souueraine, his eftet perrefht, the courfe lykly to be ouerthrown, and my felf and my freindis apperantly to be reducit to futché miferie, that our lyfis and landis fhouldest be fubiect to the mercie of our enemies, I haue impertit to him the verie moyen quhou all theis euillis may be remediit, and hes left afe all particulair querell. I ves heir in futché place as I could not vryt my felf in ciffre, and I would not commit it to patent letter, fo I haue prayit him to vryt of it to your Lordship and the ref of my honourable freindis. And fume other thing I haue vritten to Mr Douglas, for to fchau your Honour, and vil pray you for your helpin hand, and, in grace of God, I fhall bring maiters about, to the veil of bothe þe princes and realmes, to the contentment of you and all godly perfonages, and for the ruin of my ennemeis, quho hes diffirt my vrak, and of the courfe, and to the gryt displeafur of all richt men. It vil pleafe your Honour to mak Mr Douglas acquent vithe your Lordships counfell, quhou ye villit I fhould vfe my felf in maiters, to the end, he may lat me vnderftand it in chiffre; and I fhall do good vil to conforme my felf in all thingis to your contente. Bot one [thing] cheifly is to be aduiffit vpone, that Arrane and Mortoun ar pacquit vpe, and maiters compofit betwene them, for it hes a forder tail than ve haue hithertile forfein, albeit in deid it haithe verie gryt fchow: of the effectis, I haue deluerit to the Embaffadour and Mr Douglas; for it is of treuthe that their Jefuiftes repairit to Mortouns hous, and euer fince he hes haid, as is spokin to the King, in his hous daily, mefs, and all his men, for fure, ar payit vithe Frenche crounes. So that ve feir the apprehenfioun of the King

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art 195, fol. 228.

his awin perfoun for to be takin in France; vitche accordis verie veil to
 pat my oncle came for to mak me aduertisment, pat the hole Guifartis
 hoppit shurly to see the King in France yit befor Allhallowday. The
 vorst is the King is young and cairles, and in his tym hes neuer teastit
 any frowning storme, vitche makis him beleue that no man dar attempt
 any futche maiter. Bot if thingis be not in tym remediit, I am schreudly
 affrayit that he become vyse throu a verie hard experience; bot of þis
 your Honour vil know more particulairly a vther day. As your Honour
 thinkis expedient, you may schaw of þis to þe Queen hir Maiestie your
 Souueraine. Now only restis to thank you verie grytly, for the courtaisie
 schewit to my oncle. I hoyp in recompence I shall mak him do you ser-
 uice. So taking leue, I comit your Honour to God his holy protection.
 Frome our Court at Inchemerin, quhair skairfly for hounting ether do ve
 sleip or eat, 25 of August, 1585.

Your Honours obedient to do you seruice,

MS of Gray

To his honorable Lord th'Earle of
 Leicefter, Gryt Steuart of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

H^{ER} Maiefty vnderstanding that you should be greatlie greeued, vpon
 some doubt conceaued, that her good concept of you was altred vpon
 informacion sent from thence, that you were fallen away from that devo-
 cion you professed to beare towards her, she hath willed me to signesie
 vnto you, that in case she should haue beene so lightlie carried away vpon
 a bare informacion, without reseruing an eare for you, she should have

¹ From the original minute, dated 4th September 1585, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII.
 art. 200, fol. 133.

done noe lefs wrong to herfelf than vnto you,—vnto her felf, for that it ftandeth not with the place of iuftice ſhe holdeth, to condemne anie to die vnheard;—and vnto you, that having deferued, (as no man more), ſo greatlie at her handes, ſhe ſhould fayle to yeald you that, which every comon perſon may, in courſe of iuftice, clayme, and that is, the refervacion of an eare. Befides, when ſhe looked into your birthe, which is honourabill, that noe pointe of honour is greater then to be true of word, or vnto your iudgment and wifedome, which can not but right well difcerne, that noe frendſhipp or amitie can be ſo profitable as the amitie of England vnto the King, your maifter, of whoſe well doinge noe Scott can be more carefull, ſhe cannot thincke that you can be eaſilie carried away by a contrarie courſe, to ſſayle either in pointe of honour touching yourfelf, or in dutie touching your ſoueraigne. And therefore, doth pray you to lay all doubtſes and iealouſies aſide, and to aſſure your felf that the Queen of England will never condemne ſo devoted a gentelman, as the Maſter of Gray is, vppon flight brutes without receaving your anſwere.

This much I wrote by her Maieſties comaundement and eſpeciall direccion. For my felf I doe aſſure you that no one thing did, for the time ſince I entred into the publique charge I nowe holde, greeue me more then that our Ambaſſadour, through ſuch a cunning practiſe and abuſe offered him, ſhuld be made an inſtrument to call in queſtion the credite of his beſt frend, and one whome he hathe profefſed to loue moſte in that realme. But this breach is nowe ſalved, and that opinion conceaved of you, that you have right worthily deſerved, which I will ſeeke to nourifhe with noe leſſe care then my owne perticuler credite. And ſo, Sir.

MONSIEUR FONTENAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.¹

MADAME à ce que je peux prévoir des chofes D'Eſcoſſe, ceſte negocia-
tion D'Angleterre ſe reſouldra en fumée, ou pour le moins il ſe paſſera

¹ Extracted from Fontenay's letter, dated at Paris, 'ce premier de . . . , 1585,' in *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 538.

beaucoup de avant que l'en venir à une conclusion; mais cependant Gray se servant de l'autorité de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour disgracier Aran, et se mettre en sa place, je crains et croy qu'il remplira l'Esgosse de factions et divisions, opposant les Hamiltons, à la mayson de Lennox. Encore que les commencemens de pratiques du dit Gray n'en donnent apparence, il est apres aultant qu'il peult pour fayre retourner en cour, et repatrier avec le Roy d'Esgosse, les contes De Huntley, D'Athol et Bothwell, et aultres, par le lemoyen desquelz il faiët estat de fayre rapeler les Hamiltons à la ruine du conte D'Aran, et pour leur moyen le combattre de son autorite, ce qui en fin ne peult revenir qu' avec un tres perilleux hazard et du Roy vostre filz, et par consequent de vostre majesté. Laquelle, a ceste cause, je supplie tres humblement me faire scavoir lequel de deux elle mieux aymeroyt la rayne du conte D'Aran, ou De Gray, pour ce que j'ay intelligence avec l'un et avec l'autre pour conduire cest affayre selon vostre desir. A la verite il feroyt fort expedient de ruiner le conte D'Aran, et par le moyen de Gray, en ce fayfant, faire approcher de Roy le conte de Huntley et aultres bien affectionnez à vostre majesté, mais je crains que cela advenant par le moyen de Gray, et consequemment par l'entremise de la Reyne D'Angleterre, ceulx qui auparavant en despit D'Aran, qui l'an passé negocioit avec elle, luy estoient ennemis, ne deviennent les vostres, par ses pratiques et corruptions. La foudaine et frequente mutation D'Esgosse, et des humeurs de la plus part de ceulx, qui y vivent, principalement en cour, me faiët apprehender cest inconvenient, quequel promesses qu'a mon partement le conte D'Huntley, et plusieurs aultres m'ayent faiët de leur fidelité à l'endroit de vostre majesté, et pour ce, si j'en estoys creu vostre majesté ne se declareroyt ny d'un coste, n'y d'autre, jusques à ce que vostre majesté vist plus clairement lequel de deux est pour demuerer aupres du Roy. Je scay bien que Gray desespere de puoir jamais mais obtenir pardon de vostre majesté, faiët tout ce qu' il peult pres du Roy, et sous son autorite pres de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour faire defarmer vostre majesté De Nau, et tous aultres serviteurs Francoys, et en leur place en substituer l'aultres Anglois ou Esgossoys à la devotion de la Reyne D'Angleterre, et d'un Roy D'Esgosse, qui des auparavant que je partise D'Esgosse, j'en ay faiët solliciter vivement le Jus-

tice Clerke son dernier embassadeur en Angleterre. Le conte de Montroffe a signé la bande du conte D'Aran avec plusieurs aultres my lords et barons. Au contraire Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, le Secretaire Methland, Sir Robert Melvin, et aultres y compris les puynez Setons (car my lord est du coste du conte D'Aran), onte signé la bande de Gray contre luy. My lord Claude Hamilton, qui est par deça, a d'esperance de retourner en Escosse par ce moyen. Madam, voyla ce que je scay et prevoy de l'estat D'Escosse pour jourd'huy, me mettant du reste à ceulx qui en scavent plus de moy.

THE RELATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAYE, CONCERNING THE
SURPRISE OF THE KINGE AT STERLINGE.¹

FOR the reformation of matters out of order, both in the court particularly, and the gouvernement generally, of Scotland, and the removeing of some bad instrumentis (namely, th'Earle of Arrane, by whose credite the Kinge was runing a course that this flate might not suffer) from the Kinge, it was at last thought expedient to let loose, and turne downe the Lords banished and abidinge in London to the Borders.

But before they should goe downe, a partye was first provided for them on the Borders, to ioine with them, and secret friends wrought for them in the court, against they should come forward; the chiefe whereof was the Master of Gray, opposite enemy to Arrane, and as great a fauourite of the King as he. These thinges being rype, the Ambassador retyreing himself at the instant, it so fell out, that he aryving at Barwick the xvj of the last moneth, the Lords were come down to the Borders the next day after.

The Lords, teamed the Lords of the faction, or banished lords, were theise: th'Earles of Angus and Marre, the Master of Glamis, the Lordis of

¹ From the Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 224, fol. 260. This article will also be found in the Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 129.

Arbroth, Pashley, Cambuskenneth and Dryborough, and others. The opposite were, th' Earles of Arrane, Montrosse, Crawford, Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, Arranes brother, and the Lord of Downe, &c.

The first meetinge of the banished Lords together was at Kelfo within the middle Marches, and thence divided themselves thus: Angus and his company, the better to gather friends, went to Pebles, not farre from Edinburgh; Arbroth and his company went to Dumfries, to ioyne with the Lord Maxwell, that had bene in armes all the summer before, for a particular against Johnston, the Kings Warden; and so being seuered, appointed for a generall rendezvous, or meeting-place, at Faulkirk, xij myles from Sterlinge, the laste of that moneth; where they met together, and were to the number of 8,000 horse and footemen.

Here all were like to fall in sonder by reason of the Lord Bodwells wauering.

The Master of Gray in this tyme was gone from the Courte to gather friends, and meant to surprise Saint Johnstone, being secretly friends for the Lords of the faction, but pretended to levy all that he did for the Kinge, that then purposed to make a rode upon the Lord Maxwell, commaunding all men from sixty to sixteen, to goe with him. All this tyme Arrane lay at his howse at Kenneil, so commaunded by the King vpon the suspicion of the Lord Ruffells slaughter; but vnderstandinge of Mr Wottons secret retyre, and the comeing of the banisht Lords, whome he tearmed rebellis, to the Borders, he repayred to the courte, enformeing the Kinge of all that he heard, persuaदेinge the Kinge that all this was done with the Master of Grayes privitie and knowledge; and therefore, desirous that the King should take his life from him, drew him for to fend for the Master of Gray with diligence.

The Master beinge sent for, (he was then assemblinge his friends in the Fife shyre,) was doubtfull what to doe, beinge privily advertised that his life was fought for by Arrane; yet feareing least his absence should overthrowe the whole plot, and by giving place to Arrane, hazard the cause, adventured and came to the Kinge, whome he found gracious, and beleived all that the Master had said in his purgacion; which when Arrane and his complices sawe, they determyned to kill him in the Kingis presence amongst themselves, or at the least within the castell.

But whilest they were thus occupied in court, word came that the Lordis

were marched and come within a mile of Sterlinge, which gaue Arrane and them cause to bethink themselues of defending the towne; and all the night, the first of November, with Montrosse and the rest, he watched on the walles himself in person.

The next morninge, the ij of November, the Lords marched towardes the towne, with purpose to scale the same. But Arrane, knoweing all this storme to be bent onely at his head, and suspectinge falsehood in fellowship, and his own desertes, with one man fled secretly out of the towne, over the bridge. The rest, seing him slip away, retyred all into the castell, where the King, and Master of Gray, and other secret frendis to the Lords were.

The towne thus abandoned made small resistance, but gaue entrance to the Lords, who forthwith made themselues masters thereof, by seazeing of the market place, and th' Earle of Marres house.

After the breakeinge into the towne, they went straight and sett vp their banners before the sparre of the castell, that was cramde full in a manner of great personages, with the King, some friendes, some enemyes.

The King the next morninge sends out the Secretary and Justice-clerk, to take assurances for such as should come to parle with them.

Which done, the Master of Gray was sent to them from the King, to demaund the cause of their comeinge; and after an houres commoninge returnes, and makes an honourable reporte of their dutifull submission and desire to see his Maiesty, and kisse his handis.

The King, retheyneinge a feare that Arrane had put him in of them, sent them word, that if they would haue their landis and liueings and departe, he would giue them all.

They insist still vpon entringe the castell to see his Maiesty, whose fauour they fought more then their liveings. Whereat the King returning the Master againe to them, propounded three things to them; viz. the safety of his own person; no innovacion in the state; and the assurance of the liues of such as he should name.

They made answere, that for the Kinges person they neuer meant harme vnto it, but would dye in defence of it. They desired no innovacion. But for the third propoficion, seing they were the men that had for so longe a tyme bene iniured, they desired rather that for their suretye

hereafter, the persons, as they knew to be their enemyes, might be deliuered into their guard and handes, together with the fourtes and strengthes of the realme.

About theis two pointes there was much adoe, and a day spent in debateinge: yet, at length, what with the want of victualles for so greate a number, the castell, together with the goodwill of the mediators necessitye, enforced to yield vnto it, and so were the gates opened, the Lords let in, and admitted to the Kinges presence.

The first thinge after their entry, was the deliuey of the persons of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothes, (Earles,) Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, the Lord of Downe, and others; Arrane beinge fled, as said is, before.

Immediatly after was Arrane proclaymed traytour at the marquet place, in the Kinges name. The Kinges guard altered, and in the afternoon of the same day, a pacificacion and remission proclaymed in the Lordes behalfe, all faultis forgiuen, and all thinges reputed as done for the Kings seruice.

The castell of Dumbritton assigned to Arbroth, the chiefe of the house of the Hamyltons, and of right Earle of Arrane. The castell of Edinburgh graunted to the keepeinge of Coldingknowes; and other strengthes to the rest, as Tomptallon to Angus; and Sterlinge to Marre, &c.

And thus hath the good successe in court fallen out, beinge well handled off all parties, which giueth hope to the Ministers to recouer their Sinode againe against the Bishops; and so to restore the discipline of the Church, if not better, at least as well as it was before Arranes gouernment.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

SIR, Albeit of late I wrote vnto you, yeat Robert Caruel, coming vnto me by your command, thought without lettre, for to knawe what was th'effect of this French Ambassadors negociating, I have instructed him at length. He is named Monsieur De Valle, sonne in lawe to Monsieur

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 244.

Pynart, and I think, by his addrese, for he is very young and litle thing in him, he hath for tutors, a secretary of his fathers in lawe, and the fellow Curfolles, that was secretary to Meluiffier in England, who hath disguised him self from Curfoles to De Preau, to the end he should not be knawen. Some think he is sent, (I meane Curfolles), by the Kings mother, our Quene sometime. But how euer it be, they kepe therin as yeet very quiet, neuer a one of them fortés their lodging. He neuer hath craued audience but one day. All he disponit that day was his letters and some language. In his lettre off , there was a clause which offended the King, for it bare, that of ald Scotland esteemed of Fraunce as ther *bouclier et appuie contre tous venants*, and that the Kingis of Scotland were subiect vnto France. This sore offendid the King, and he gaue hard language. But the simplicity of the Ambassadour was remarked in it, for this letter was of date 10 October, and he had one more recent, wryten by the King since he was surely informed of the alteration heer, but he presented both without respect had of pe tyme. It was thought he had brought great somes of money; but it is not so. The effect of his negociation is to traffique with fondry of the nobility, rather then with the Kingis self; but he is a simple soule. I remit the rest to Carvill. I am fully aduertiffed from Spayne pat there is great preparation made both of men and shippis, and some thereby . . . Ireland, as chiefly the Papistes of this contrey. Of this they are assured; but I am not of their opinion, that euer the King of Spayne will send money into Ireland: Well he may send some alwayes, it maks them of the relegeon prowder. What hath been of late here, I wrote vnto you of before. I pray you forget not my commendations to my Lord Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney. And craving that you reteeyne me in your good grace, I comit you to Godis holy protection. From the Court at Hal-lirudhoufe this 29th of January, [1585].

Your loving freind to command,

J^r M^r of Gray.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.¹

RYGHT HONORABLE MY VERIE GOOD LORD, I receaued your Lordships letter the verie daye of my departeur towards Scotlande, concerninge the forces which your Lordship is defyerus to have owte of Scotlande; which letter gave me occasion some what to faye to have Mr Secretars opinion concerninge the fame: which is, that yt please your Lordship that, immediately vpon the receate of this my letter, to wryte your self a letter to the Master of Graye, requestinge hym, (as he hathe offered), to accepte the charge of so maynye as your Lordship dothe defyer from thens, with knowledge of th'intertaynmente to siche person of charge, or gentleman of speciall note, that he shall bringe with hym. Bycause, also, that this requerethe monye to have them leviede, and for their transportinge to the place where theye shall serue, that your Lordship wyll also wryte your mynde therin, that nothinge shalbe dowed of or leaft in suspence at my comynge thythir, to be accomplyshed accordinge to your Lordships wyll and defyer.

I am also wyllled to put your Lordship in mynde, that as the Master self wyll take this to be a greate honour, (as he proffesses), to serue vnder your Lordship, so hathe he wrytten hyther to Mr Archibalde; which letteris have byne seen by her Maiestie, and your Lordship made privie by Mr Secretarie to the fame, from whom his Honour thoughte that he shilde have had answer before that tyme, and therfore nowe wyshethe that your Lordship wolde wryte vnto the Master of Graye self, bothe thankis for his willingenes, and the frendlye offer made vnto your Lordship, which, yf it be performed, the Kinge selfe muste be imbarcked in this action, (which is a thinge of no smale momente), for that yt cane not be done withowte the Kingis consent and allowance. Yt maye be that your Lordships letter maye be as sone in Scotlande as I; to whom, yf yt please your Lordship to fende your letteris, (as maynye tymes by fea your Lordship maye

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 84, fol. 169.

do), I wishe that theye were directed vnto me, lodgyng at Mr Alexander Clerkis howse in Edenbounge. Mr Killegrewe knoweth the partie, and yf God fende me wyll thyther, ther shalbe no thinge leaste be me vndon, that ether your Lordship shall commande, or my self cane thynke, that may tende to the performance of that worthy and noble enterpryse of your Lordships. As oft I maye, your Lordship shall heare from me, or Mr Harrie Killegrewe, whose hande yt maye please your Lordship to vse, for some tymes sparinge of your owne, or yt beinge busyed in so maynye wayes as yt is. That your Lordship maye knowe some what of the present state of Scotland, as nowe it is, I fende your Lordship this inclosed. And so desyeringe God to prosper your Lordships enterpryse, and all wayes fende you well to do, I hvmillye tayke my leave. At my howse in London vpon St Peters hyll, the vijth of februarie, 1585.

Your Honour Lordship euer to commandes,

Tho. Randolphe

To the right honorable my verie good
Lorde, th' Erle of Leicefter, Lord Go-
vernour of the Lowe Countrys of
Flanders.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

SIR, I haue sent this gentleman my seruant to my Lord of Leicefter, to knou his mynd, if he vil craue that men be leuiat furthe off this country for his seruice thair. I vrot of befor to your Honours self, bot than I intendit only to haue maid voyage vithe sum of my auin priuat friendis

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 73, fol. 148.

and feruandis, or a feu vther. Bot nou I vnderstand, by a letter vrottin from my Lord of Leicefter to my Lord Embaffadour for hir Maieftie, that he is defyrous for fum troupes in quantitie, fo that I did tak deliberation to know refolutly quhat numbre his Lordship vil craue; for ether feu or many, I am aible to founnis them in verie fchort tym. Bot meiteft it is, fum fitt man of his auin be fent in this country for that effect, or than, that Mr Randolphe refaue the chaarge thair of. For particulair, I recomend to you and his Lordship felf vithe affurance of honourable dealing, and this I vil promeis no man fhall ferue vnder him quha cariethe a better mynd to hir Maiefties eftet. Bot haue committit crediet in pis, and all vther thinges perin he hes to negotiat, to the berar quhom your Honour may crediet as my felf. I pray your Honour give him your aduyfe in this affair. Maiters heir goethe verie veil, and the league to take effect, albeit fum ingrat ftayers that haithe bein, *fed remunerabuntur tandem mercede eorum*. The Embaffadour and Mr Myllis vil informe your Honour foe lairgely of all thingis, that I vil hould my peace. Bot I fhall affur you, in graice of God, in despyt of the Deuil, and all vifching the contrary, thingis fhall not go vrong. Bot of this Mr Myllis and the berar vil informe your Honour at gryter lenthe, quhom I recommend to your accouftumat courtaisie fcheuit to me and all myn. Ve do not a little meruail at Mr Archibalds ftay. The King is now in better difpofition touardis him than of leat. Nou, refting to pray your Honour prefent to hir Maieftie my heumble feruice, I leaue you in the protection of God Almychtie. Holyrood, 12 Feb. 1585.

Yours euer to be comandid vithe fervice,

Patrick Master of Gray.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Valfingham, principall Secretarie to
the Quenes Maieftie of England.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

Vppon Saturday the xxvjth of February, I arrived at Edinburgh, and dined at North Berwick by the way with Mr Alexander Hume, sometimes fervant to the Earle of Murray. By order from the Kinge, there mett me at Musselborgh, the Justice Clerk,² accompanied with betwene 40 and 50 horse, with fondry gentlemen of the Kinges house. In Edinburgh I am lodged where your Honour was, the house being furnished with muche of the Kinges stuffe, whether beeing conducted by the Justice Clerke. After his departure from me, I sent soone after Thomas Milles to the Secretary, desiring to knowe the Kinges pleasure for my repayre to his presence. Monday in the afternoone was appointed for mine audience, and the Justice Clerke sent for me. At the court gate the Master of Glames met me, and so by them twoo I was broughte vnto the Kinges presence, with whome I found the young Duke of Lennox, the Erles of Angusse, Marre, Bothuile, the Lordes Claude Hamilton, Herris and Seaton, the Master of Gray, and the Secretary,³ and others. My dutie beeing done to the Kinge, and answere made to some questions that his Grace asked me of her Maiesties health, I deliuered her Highnes letter, which, when he had read, 'I finde,' sayeth he, 'a greate continuance of your mistresses good will towardes me, and I will not fayle to do the like.' Then declared I the cause and the effect of my comeinge. As the matters were of weight and importance, so founde I in his countenance some alteracion, tokens, as I tooke them, of his passions of his minde, as namely, when I spake of the death of the Lord Russel⁴ I founde a shewe of fadnes; and speakinge of the league, he laughed almost openly, that such as

¹ Cott, MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 256, fol. 294. There is no date to this letter, but it appears to have been written on the 1st or 2d March 1585-6.

² Sir Lewis Ballenden of Auchnoul.

³ Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane.

⁴ Sir Francis Russel, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, who was unfortunately slain in a Border fray by Ker of Farnihurst, July 27, 1585.

obserued his countenance perceaved that I spake of something to his likinge. When I had ended my speache, his Grace sayeth thus vnto me, 'I must acknowledge myself so bounde to the Queene your mistres, as if she were my sifter; indeede better counsell and aduise I cannot receaue from any, and, God willing, I intend to followe it.' Theis wordes he spake openly in the hearing of all in the chamber. For that I did but shortlie runne over the matters I am to deale in, but reserved somewhat in store to haue the freer accessse vnto him hereafter, I prayed him to take the thinges I had spoken of but as shorte notes of that which I would, with his good leaue, more at large imparte vnto him. He liked well of the request, and gaue me leaue to come vnto him when and as often as I would. After this his Maiesty entreth into more private talke, and telleth me him self, that there was an Ambassadour out of France farre younger then myself; one that had never beene Ambassadour before, and that seemed not to knowe this countrey so well as I doe. I told him that if he came with that minde and affection, in deede that I did, at all times to doe his Maiestie and his countrey service, it was not to be respected howe young he was, but what minde he bare. 'I trowe,' said the King, 'it be well, but I haue not as yet dealt much with him.' I tooke occacion to speake of the house of Guise, that procured his comeinge hither. I spake of Holt the Jesuiste, and commended his Graces intention for the punishment of papistes, and such as latelie had heard masse. He answered me, after much talke thereabout, that he had but God only to serue, which he would endeavour to doe [to] the vttermost of his power, and keepe amitie with her that had been so good vnto him. He told me him self that, within a day or twoo, a number of papistes, which had hearde masse, should be araigned, and the Lord Maxwells self. I commended his doinge therein, the cause beinge Godis, and the quietnes of his countrey, which he ought to defend, but hoped that he would take one example of the Queene my mistres, which is to ioyne mercy with iustice. 'That (said he), is the best sacrifice to God. But,' sayeth he, 'I haue found this man stubborne in his opinion.' He told me of a goode likelihoode of agreement betwene him and the Ministers, for the orders of the Church, wherein, as I heare by others, he hath taken greate

paynes hime felf. Whilest I was thus in talke with him, espying in my hand her Maiesties private letter, curiousslie sealed and made vp, 'Good faith,' (fayes he, smilinge), 'ye haue somethinge els for me.' Whereat kissing the letter, I gaue it him, which he receaued with a merie countenance, and perusinge the sealing and direccion, (said he), 'I knowe this hand writt well ynough, but I cannot read it without a knife to open it:' which when he had done, he tooke me some what aparte, and said vnto me, I promise vppon mine honour, her Maiesties desire in this letter shalbe performed: so, vnbuttoning his doublett, he putt the letter in his bosome. This done, I tooke my leaue, crauing a newe time for further declaracion of that which I had to say, which, he sayed, should be with in a day or twoo. I desired to knowe which of his Councell it would please him to meate for me to deale with in the matters of my charge. He answered, first with him felf. I comended vnto him the good service of such as his Grace had employed towards my soueraigne, as the Master of Gray, the Justice Clerke, and Mr Keeth. He gaue her Maiestie thanckes for the honour that he had receaued in them. I not knowing the Secretary, he said he would make mine acquaintance with him; which yet is not done, neither haue I as yet spoken with him, but expect, with in a day or twoo, to talke with him at my lodginge. Ere I departed I saluted all the Lordes in presence, and so retiring was reconducted to my lodging by the Justice Clerke, Carmighell, and otheres. I finde the Justice Clerke well affected to the amitie, and furtherance of the league. He hath dealt openlie and plainlie with me in diuers matters, specially howe small accompte is made here of my French riuall. He told me of the vnkindnes betwixt the Master of Gray and the Secretary, almost mortal. I told him that my coming was as well to take vpp debates generallie, as to treat of the league betwene theyre Maiesties; and that he liked well of.

Soone after my coming to my lodging, comes vnto me the Master of Gray. Many complements passed betweene vs. He confesseth and speaketh much of the honour that he hath receaved of her Maiestie, promising to acknowledge the same to his lives end, offering his seruice with the formost for the furtherance of any cause I had in hand, specially

for the league, wherein he would doe his vttermoft to further it nowe to her Maiefties contentment, and maynteyne it hereafter for the quietnes of both countries.

He and [the] Iuftice Clerck doe affure me, that the Kinges handes are cleane from receauinge of any princes golde hitherto, though the offers haue been great and promifes large, to the which, through neceffitie, he will be brought to incline very fhortlie, or from her Maieftie receaue fuch fupporte as in expectacion hath beene long, and is nowe, looked for, according to the former promifes and fpeeches that haue beene made by fome from her Maiefty to him; and as theis twoo perfonages putt me in hope, and doe affure me; that that beeing done, there neither wilbe, nor can be, any thing to ftay the performance of the league. So haue the aduerfaries to the fame noe other thinge to alledge, but the vncerteinty therof, and long delays therein, whereas here it is prefently to be had. I leaue this to her Maiefties wifdome, and your Honours remembrance, what I haue to promife if the league take effecte. I befeech your Honour let me fpeake it merilie out of Terence, and make it you knowe as you pleafe, *Pecuniam in loco negligere, interdum maximum eft lucrum, and, bis dat, qui cito dat*. But anfwere me not as the fame author fayeth, *ſententias loquitur carnifex*.

After the writinge of thus much, wherewith I purpoſed to end this letter, the Lord Claud Hamilton came vnto me, and in long ſpeeches acknowledged all her Maiefties favour and benefites towards him, promiſing faithful ſeruice to her Maieſtie during his life, and any thing that lawfully he may doe for her. And this he deliuered in noe leſſe earneſtnes of wordes to me, then he had written before to Sir John Foſter. He promiſeth me that nothinge ſhalbe left vnperformed by him, or his, to accompliſh her Maieſties deſire and contentacion. After his Lordſhip was gone, there came vnto me the Secretary. Much good time was ſpent betweene vs, who could exceede others in complementis and cunning ſpeeches. Much talk we had of his brother, and favours receaued in England; but hoped that his dealing ſhould tend to a better end, having that good place which he hath vnder his Maifter, to the furtherance of all good offices of amitie betweene the countries. He concluded, that whatſoeuer wanted in his brother ſhould, to the vttermoſt of his power,

be performed by him, speciallie for the furtherance of the league nowe in hand. He desireth that, as the acquaintance is alreadie begunne betweene your Honour and him in letteris, that the same may be continued, and triall taken of him, what goodwill he beareth to her Maiesties seruice. Thus we ended in good termes, good wordes, and greate kindnes. Judge you of our heartes as ye finde vs.

After he was departed Mr Keethe came vnto me from the Kinge, as he said, who prayed me to write vnto her Maiestie in the favour of James Hudfon, the Kinges fervant, who hath a sute vnto her Maiestie. What it is I knowe not, but he movid it vnto me with great earnestnes, as fo comaunded from the King his maister, with a letter also to be deliuered vnto him. Thus much for this first dispatch, Sir. From Edinburgh.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

MY LORD, amongst many courtaissies I did refave from Mr Randolphe, hir Maiesteis Embassadour, the freindlie speachis, it pleasit you fend me as of befor from Villiam Keythe, the Kingis late messinger, a letter from your Lordship. In recompence I shall honour you till I leve, and shall use your counsell, and euer shall continue to be, efter my moyens, a good instrument betuix the realmes and princes so long as I am present. Bot the treuthe is, I veirie to ly ydle at home, and, in grace of God, intendis to mak a voyag pis summer, vithe thre or four 1000 men, vitche shall tend to the veil of bothe the countryis: and becaus I maid first my offre to serue hir Maiestie and hir Lieutenant in pe Low Countryis, I vil abyd til I refave ansuer from my Lord of Leicester; and if I go in pat service, it is verie treu it gainis pis point, pat it embarkis the King my Souveraine fo agenst Spaine, that heir Jesuistes shall never have place to retir, it vil enter betuix Spaine and him in futche diffidence. And if I go not in pe voyag of the Low Countryis, than I must pray your Lordship to assist

¹ From the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 46, art. 58.

me, at hir Maiesteis handis, for help of sum schiping for my former distiny, and hir Maiestie shall knou that it shall be verie proufitable for hir estat. Bot I remit the particulars till I refaue anfuere from my Lord of Leicester touching this uther propoſed ſtate: preſentlye vil tak leue in comitting your Lordſhip to Gods bliſſit protection. Edinb. 2 Martii, 1586.

Your Lordſhips to do you ſervice,

J. M. of Gray.

To the Right Honourable my Lord Bourghley,
Highe Theſaurer of England.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES SPEACH TO THOMAS MILLS.¹

GAUALION. How goes your French matters, and your iorney?

GRAY. As to my iorney, how euer matters goes, I haue reſolued.

GA. But in caſe you goe not ſhortly, ye will not get leue to liſt men.

GR. Why, and who ſhall impeach me?

GA. *Monſieur, Je parleray à vous librement comme de couſtume.* The matters are purpoſed to be attempted vpon the ground, that once your Lordſhips ſelfe ſhould haue bin a doer in, and therefore it is a queſtion among them here, whether you be ſuffered to liſt men or not; and once they were of opinion that you liſted men, and the King to haue ſeaſed and ſtayed them to his uſe.

GR. By God, as to ſtaying of any pat I liſt, they would be deceaued, for I would put them away by companies as I liſted.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 99, fol. 179, where this article is dated 10th April 1586. Thomas Mills ſeems to haue come to Scotland in the ſuite of Mr Randolphe, the Engliſh ambaffador.

GA. Then, but as touching the attempt, what ground has it, or for what purpose?

GR. For releuying the Queen of Scots.

GA. They will not prevaile in that, for how fone they enter England they will haue her head, and foe shall they want her alive.

GR. Nay, that is not the scoope; for albeit they mist of her, yet they cast their accompt pat can they once subuert the estate of England, and alter religion there, they make reckoning the King shall become Catholique incontinent.

GA. But how can this be done?

GR. They purpose to see and attempt the King in case he will doe any thing for his Mothers reliefe, if not, they shall attempt it notwithstanding. But it is hoped pat the King shall concurre with them.

GA. What here you for that?

GR. By God, the Kings owne word.

GA. I cannot beleuee you, Sir.

GR. I assure you it is true, or ells the greatest counsellor in Scotland deceiues them.

GA. I trowe you meane pe Secretary. And knowes he of this matter?

GR. That doeth he. And farther I shall say this much, the French Ambassador, speaking with the King this other daye, sayes to him, pat he vnderstood of many matters propounded to his Maiestie of great thingis, but, would he giue him audience, he should lay greater matters in his lappe, and lay him out a readier and surer way then that he was borne in hand with. Quoth the King, 'when I see the same I shall answere you; for I wilbe glad of my aduantage when I see it.' 'Well,' quoth the Ambassadour, 'then I shall shew your Maiestie more within this moneth.' Besides G. Douglas hath brought with him a letter in cypher from the Duke of Guyse, and offred it him; but the King hath refused to receiue it till a time. He has brought also lettres to the Lord Clawd from the 2 bushopps.

GA. But tell me, who are the hiters in this?

GR. The Duke of Guyse, Delbens, or de Mayne, Prince of Parma, or Duke of Sauoy, after credit taken with Guiuera.

GA. And where will they land?

Farrell sundry letters
by noblemen to be sent
into France.

GR. Between Humber and Tuede, in case they drawe their men out of Flanders.

GA. They haue forces in Flanders already pat they will sone call home?

GR. Then, that action failes to the aduantage of the Spaniard. If they abide, the realme will be the weaker, and this they accompt of to begin in September.

GA. To whome are the handling of these thingis committed here?

GR. To Hay and Dury, Jesuists of this country, and such as they trust; such as G. Douglas.

GA. But in all this I see a great difficulty; for it wilbe hard for them to land without a partie.

GR. The Papiſts of England haue offered that, when euer they shall see a power landed, they wilbe xx^m men. But ere it be affayed, they looke to see confusion among themſelues, for I shall giue you my hand, if the Queene be not taken away yet ere Michelmas.

The Popes 20,000.

SIR, the Ambaffador brought with him 8000^l, besides 2000^l roleus. That the Secretary hath receaued money, and Kolinknows¹ 1000^l. His ſuſpicious ſpeech to Leſtrick,² that it ſhould not be good aduiſe to the King to ſuffer his people to ſerue, out of his realme, anothers turne. At a ſecond conference he made great difficulty to diſcouer the part of the Queene; but ſaid they were halfe a dozen, nether Italien nor French, but rather Flemish, as he thought. Sir, ther names he knowes not, but pat they are already in England to doe the feat reſolutely. There were but fix that knew their names and perſons, viz. the Queen mother, Duke of Guyſe, Prince of Parma, Paver Parſons, Paver Oland de Corayne, and Corſelles. The French Ambaffador knew not them, but is only acquainted with the purpoſe, nor the French King; that this Ambaffador was not ſent by the King, but by the Queene mother and Monſieur de Guiſe. The Erle of Weſtmoreland was at Paris to haue come, but wanted ſiluer. The two men, with G. Douglas, landed at Yearmouth. Remember Barnabys tale of Arran at Stirling: to ſpeak with the Jeſuiſts Holt and Dury,

They purpoſe to outbid the Queen 40 thouſand^l penſions.

¹ Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes.

² Logan of Reſtalrig.

or Hey, about the money, and what they vndertooke. The matter of Maxwell was a pollicy of them, but hindred them greatly. They haue sent for a part of the iij^m 800^l in deposit to be sent hether, and is attended here by the first opportunity in Jaques Meluins fregot of Deepe. The Masters opinion, to continewe diuision here amongst themselues, must be the best remedy to conteyne a partie and order quietnes in England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I finde that both you and I haue beene vnkindlie dealt withall, by the Lord Secretary of that realme, touchinge the reporte that I should aduertise him of an informacion receaved from you, that he shuld be an enemy to the league. I am forrie that the gentleman should deale so hardly with me, as either to make me an author of such an vntruth, or els to be so evill an instrument to breede discorde betweene persons of your qualities. Mr Douglas knoweth howe earnestly I desire that the late jealousies and vnkindnes grown betweene you might, by some good mediation, be accorded, and therefore can best cleare me in this behalf. I find both by Mr Randolphe and Mr Milles, howe honourable and carefullie you ymploye your credite in furtherance of the intended league, as one that forfeeth the publique benefite, that may growe thereby, to both oure Soueraignes and theire kingdomes; which course, I doubt not, but you will continue, vntill the league be fynished and performed in such forte as, by all honest well affected subiectes and seruantes, is desired. What I haue done, touchinge the levie for the Lowe Countries, you shall vnderstand by Mr Archibald and Mr Tyrie, who are bothe departed hence. And so, Sir.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 100, fol. 180. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 13th April 1586.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.¹

MY HUMBLE DEUTY REMEMBERIT, as I writ onto your Honour from Berwik, that the reportis that I had herd theyr wer so manye and so contrariuous, that I culd not affirm any of them be lettir, onto such tym as I had bettir exemenit the reportis, and the occasion moving the reportis thereonto; so that I saw convenient to stay the sending of the sayde lettir, onto such tyme as fordur mater mycht occurre.

I arryvit at my Lord Ambassadouris lodging in Edinburgh vpoun the xxvij herof at nycht. Vpoun the morrou in the morning, the Master of Gray com onto me, and declarit how he had agrit vyth Secretary Maytland, at my deffire as he alledgit, and that the Secretayr was now reddy to do all that I wuld deffire him to do, that mycht serue for my veifayr. When, as we wer talking, the sayde Secretayr fend onto me the Provoft of Lyncleuding, declaring that he wes aggryt vyth the Master of Gray, bot he culd not tak it in gud part that I had forgottin the grit frendshipp betwixt his broder and me, and the not making him acquainted vyth my intering in Scotland; as onto him he onderstode nothing, quhill of layt that he onderstode I was to be at Bervik, whear he had fend his kynfman to vefit me; and that the King had declarit onto him, at his going to Falkland, that I was to be in Edinburgh one of these two dayis, and had villit him to deffire me to haif patience at the Ambassadours lodging to his returning, which shuld be verray shortlye, at which tym I shuld knau his Maiesties fordur pleasur. I scho him that I reffevit his Maiesties derection, and his aduis, in gud part. Thaireftir the Master openit onto me a longe discourfe, the stat of the cuntry, and all the particularities, viz. such, as the Ambassador, be several letters, had mayd craving onto your Honour of befor, vyth this addition, that the Secretary his gritnes vyth the Kinge did confes, in this, that he had fett down certayn plattis onto

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 114, fol. 197.

the King, how he mycht preserve his stayt in obedience, and be in estimation and credit vyth foryn princis; and because the end of these platts caryit vyth thaym certayn protraction of tyme, he thoht it wold be harde to move the Kinge in his contrar, vnto such tyme as he myt know the fynale suretes, or than myt onderstand sum vther bettir meanis how he myt attayn to the sam. And as to the particular of the plattis, he culd not parfitly declayr thaym, but he schaw me that the Kinge was werray earnest to heir me speik of theise matteris, and was assurit that he wald oppen thym onto me his self, aftir that he had once spokin vyth me. His Maiesty retornit from Falkland this Fryday, and vent to Dalkeyth, whear he sithyn remains. The Master of Gray was send for to come to him. He thoht it ves to conferr vyth him vpoun the maner how I myt speik vyth his Maiestie. This is all that they vyll towartis my pryvat state. As towartis my opine in the publick of this realm, I must crave that I writ not at larg theyrof, onto such tyme as I haif spokin with his Maiestie, and vtheris gydarris of the Court, that offeris me grit frendshipp, which I shall wythin two or thre dayis after the dayt hereof.

The Master of Gray hath, vpon ouerturis mayde to him, that it was metest that he shuld deall vyth marchantis that ar in this realme, quhose substance is not verray grit, that he vilbe able to leuvy ten thowfsand French crownis, for the raising and transporting of the saydis forces, providing that he may know quha shal pay the saydes marchantis, ather at London or Holland. He affirms that he vill haive forces in redines vpon sex veukis efter that he shall reffeue commandiment for levyng of theym. The hole capitains, and one gud part of them foddartes, ar such as hath servit of before in the Low Country. Bycawis that vyth expeditioun the King may heir ather from her Maiestie, or from my Lord of Leyster, for desiring or craving of such forces as ar neydful, he affirms that he can leavy what nombre you shall please demand, onder ten thowfsand, but the nombre that he presentlye intendis to haife in reddines are thre thousand footmen, and tuo companies of horsmen. Of this mater, vythin tuo or thre dayis I think, he shall vrite at gretar lenth onto your Honour, which he cannot presently do, because he is in dealing vyth the King, and to be heir the morrow in the morning. In this midft tyme I hafe takin the

boldnes to certefy this farre, for anfwering of your Honoris lettre that I reffavit this xxix of April, onto fuch as I may moyr certaynly vryt of all matteris, which I think fhallbe shortly: And fo leaving fordar to trouble your Honor, I humblye take my lefe: ffrom Edinburgh the xxix forfaid.

Your Honoris moft
humble to command vyl prov it,

A Douglas

To the right honorable Sir Francis
Walsingham Knight, principal
Secretary to her Maieftie.

After the ending of this lettir, I reffavit an lettir from the Master of Gray, declaring that the King his pleafure is to fpeik with me at his houfe on Monday next.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

THE Kinge would rather that hir Maieftie demaunded the fervice of his fubiects, then himfelfe to offer the fame, becaufe he hath fo long deferred the making of the faid offer.

Money cannot be had by exchange.

He canne within fix weekes, or one moneth, prefent 6000 choice men, and well led together: Defireth haft to be vfed in the matter, and that the firft courfe may ftande, which was refolued on before Mr Douglas his departure.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 116, fol. 200. This article is titled an 'Abstract' from the original letter, which appears, from an entry on the margin of the manuscript, to have been dated on the 5th May 1586.

The Kinge wilbe very constant, after he is once entered into the action. To assure my Lord of Leycester that he will bring no leader over with him that is not well affected, howsoever some of them have bine otherwise reported of.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY MOST HONOURED BROTHER, If these few words expresse unto you the assuredness of my constant affection, they shall have performed the chief cause of my present sending unto you. And therein I pray you believe me, for while I live I will not fail you. My Lord² is exceedingly desirous to have your presence here; but, by reason there is not yet so full an established authority as there should, the means come in so slowly, as, in good faith, I know not whether I should wish the coming of so dear a friend or no. This gentleman, the Conservator of your nation in Camphreer, understands the nature of things as well as ourselves, and therefore he can plainly make you know what the estate both is in effect, and yet might be, if the Government were more soundly grounded. I have no more to trouble you, but to pray you for my sake to make much account of this gentleman, for I have found him my very friend: And which is the last, or rather the first point, hold me, I beseech you, in the gracious remembrance of your King, whom indeed I love. And so I take my leave, and leave you to the blessed protection of the Almighty.

Your faithful brother to do you service,

P. SIDNEY.

From the Camp before Numegen, this 17th
of May, 1586.

My most honoured the Master of Grey.

¹ From *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 557.

² Earl of Leicester.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

THERE is, since the time of Mr Archibald Douglas departure hence, fallen out some change in her Maiesties resolucion, touching the manner howe she will vse my Lord of Leicesters seruice in the Lowe Countreies; whereuppon the matter of your employment vnder him dependeth. For albeit her Maiestie was then content his Lordship should there exercise such power and authoritie as the States had there cast vppon him, bycause it appeared to be both for the weale of the countrey and furtherance of her seruice, yet hath she nowe, through the practise and secret workinge of some ill instruments that favour the Spanish proceedings, and seeke, by all meanes, to thwarte and disgrace my Lord of Leicester, cleane altered her former purpose and disposicion in that behalf. By meanes wherof, my Lord of Leicester is consequentlie forced to change his determinacion for the calling of you into his companie, whereof, I knowe, he would have receaued great comforte, beeing very loathe so much as to encourage you to come to that seruice, where he cannot yeald you that enterteynement and satisfaccion that may be answerable to your desert and liking, and to his owne desire. For, where before his authoritie reached to the redressing of the confusion in gouernment, and orderly disposing of the contribucions to the vse of the due paying of the martiall men, which authoritie the Prince of Orange never enjoyed in such ample manner, whereof ensued so great disorders and inconveniences in the course of their proceedings, by meanes whereof he might haue beene hable to haue provided for you and your company as apperteyneth; nowe that authoritie and comandement ceasing, whereby the wonted confusion will growe againe in the gouernment, and the States are likelie to convert the most parte of the said contribucions to their owne

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586.

private comoditie, as they did before, as his Lordship must of necessitie want meanes to geue you that interteinement that you may in reason looke for, which would be both a touche to himselfe in honour, and (to your owne noe small grief and discredite) worke the mislike towardis you of such gentlemen captains and foldiers as should attend vppon you, who, seeing themselues frustrate of their expectacions, and reduced, perhaps, to haue termes, would doubtles wishe they had never seene you; the inconvenience whereof to your self, I doubt not but that you will so depely waye in your owne iudgment, as you will rather choose to susteyne at the first some litle touch, that this breaking of may be to your reputacion, then to put yourself in hazzard of a further disgrace, since it doth so vntowardly fall out that thinges do not take a better course. For, to be playne with you, my Lord of Leicester findeth himself so farr thwarted and discomforted in the seruice, that he is nowe become an humble futor for his revocation, as you may further perceauue by the copie of his owne letteris, wherewith Mr Randolph shall, for your better satisfaccion, make you acquainted, to whose reporte I referre you.

I finde by Mr Randolph, the Kinge your Soueraignes dislike in that neether the sume promised was performed in so large measure as was looked for, nor the instrument of security sent in such forme as was to your said Soueraignes liking, was, through your earnest and careful travaile, qualified in such sorte, as he was both content to accept the sume sent, as also that the treatie proceede to his full conclusion. These good offices done by you to the mutuall benefit of both Crownes, I hope will never be forgotten on our parte. I will not fayle, according to your earnest desire, to doe my best indeuour to procure that satisfaccion may be yealded to the King your soueraigne in both theis pointes, whose constant and princelie manner of dealinge in this cause hath wrought a very good conceipt in all goode mens hartes here towardes him, (who before had but a iealous opinion of him). I doe assure you that, as there are diuers there that mislike of the proceedings of this treatie, so lack there not here men apt to hinder so good a work, that haue sought maliciously to revive former conceaued iealousies of onfound proceedinge here. It will, therefore, behoue well affected men, both here and there, to carrie a watch-

ful eie, in preventing the mallice of fuch malignant spirites. And fo Sir.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.¹

WHEREAS you did, by your letteris, write vnto me that, if th'intended imployment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries goe not forward, it will be a great toucheing in credite to him. For my owne parte I assure you that none can be more forrie for it then my felf, as well for the good will I doe particularly beare to the Master of Gray, who hath deserved fo well, as in respect of the cause whereof this change proceedeth, which is, in effect, that though her Maieftie was content, at the time of Mr Douglas his departure, that my Lord of Leicefter should reteyne still his authoritie and charge of gouernment laid vppon him by the States, in case it should appeare that he could not relinquishe the same without preiudice to the cause, and hinderance of her seruice, yet hath she since taken another course of resolucion, by the practife and perfwacions of fuch as are addicted to Spayne, and vnfriendlie to my Lord of Leicefter; who, by fuch meanes, wanting nowe that credite and authoritie that he had to redresse the confufion of gouernment, and dispose of the contribucions for the maintenance of the warre, hath, in reason, iust cause not to drawe a gentleman of the Master of Grayes desert and qualitie to that seruice, where he should not be able to yeald him that enter-teynment and satisfaccion that apperteyneth; which would found great-lie to his owne dishonour, and purchase to the Master the ill will and harme of as many as he should carry with him, when they should finde them felues in misery and voyd of all comforte. For my Lord findeth him self so discountenanced, crossed, and disgraced in the seruice, by the practife of ill instrumentis, that he is wearie him self of his continuance there, and fueth earnestlie to be called home againe. So far is he from

¹ From the original Minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215.

doing the Master of Gray that wrong, as to encourage him to come to him at such an unseasonable time, as you may perceave by the copie of his owne letteris, which I send you, as well ffor your owne satisfaccion, as to th'end you may be the better able to answere the Master, vnto whom you may also shewe so much of the said copie as you shall think good; whereby he may the more plainlie perceave that theis allegacions are true, letting him with all vnderstand, that howsoever this breaking of may, in some sorte, be a touch to him in credite and reputacion, having already waded so far into the action as he had done, yet he can, in his owne iudgement and discrecion, consider that it were better to break of at the first, then to hazzard further discredite and inconvenience, when those that shall serve vnder him may be reduced to such want and extremitie, as they will, perhaps, curse the time that ever they knewe him, to his owne infinite greife and disgrace.

Her Maiestie findeth by the contentes, as well of your letteris as of the Kings owne, that he resteth not yet fully satisfied in two pointes; the one, touching the sume of the Pencion, and the other for the Instrument. For the money, her Maiestie standeth very harde still to it, and yet my Lord Treasourer and my self have both dealt very earnestlie with her in the cause, but with such successe as we can neether hope nor dispayre that she will yealde to our advise. For th'other pointe, though her Maiesty conceived that her owne letter would haue sufficed, yet will she not stick, as I suppose, to yeald the King satisfaccion of some such like instrument. For your manner of proceeding, touching the deliury of the Carres that stand charged with the murder of the Lord Russell, and the successe you haue had therein, her Maiestie resteth very well satisfied with all the resolucions of the persons of the Comissioners, and the time of their meeting with th'other is not yet certain, but I thynke the former choyce of my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Evers, and your self, and the appointment of the firste of July, will stand. I haue moved her Maiestie, aswell for the yeomen prickers, and groomes of the lease, as for horses and geldings of the King, but can yet drawe noe resolucion from her in it, which is as harde to be had, even in theis trifles, as in matters of great importance.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, the malicious opposition and practise of Mr Archebalds enemies hath made his iustificacion the more cleere, for that otherwise it would haue bin giuen out, by such as stand ill affected towards him, that the Kings fauor wrought by frends had preuailed more in furtherance of his iustificacion, then his owne innocencie. And yet the world seeth that he must confesse, that, if he had not had soe honorable and constant a frend as your selfe, the mallice of his enemies might haue preuayled soe farforth as to haue oppressed his innocencie; and for that I doe professe my selfe to be one, (in respect of the loue I beare him), that is interested in his fortune, I cannot but most hartely thanke you for your good friendship shewed vnto him, in a case þat soe greatly imported him, whome, I doubt not, but you shall find towards you a most constant and thankfull gentleman, as well for the same, as sondry other fauors shewed vnto him. Touching your employment in the Lowe Countries, though the Earle of Leyster hath of late by his letteris revyued some newe hope in you, I can noe wayes encourage you therevnto, for the respectis conteyned in my last letteris, and yet you shall doe well to gratefie the Earle soe farre forth as to send vnto him the troopes by him desired, if the King your Soueraigne shall vnderhand permitt the same. And as for yourselfe, if you will giue me leaue to be soe curious with you in your owne particular, I could aduise you to spend the rest of the somer in those countries in priuat fort, in company of Sir Phillip Sidney, who, I knowe, will vse you as his owne brother, besides the experience that you shall gett, (which will be farre greater then if you were tied to a publike charge). You shall, before you enter into any charge, first acquaint yourselfe with the state of those countries, the manner of the seruice, the disposition of the people, the entertainment and vfrage of such as serue vnder them, the

¹ From the original Minute, dated 4th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

meanes that they haue for the continuance of the warres, and lastly, what wilbe our resolucion here, for the mayntenance of the Earles authoritie in such absolute forte as was yealded vnto him by the Stats, whervpon cheefly dependeth the good or bad successe of the cause; for, without the continuance of the said authoritie, the former confusion takeing place pat was there before, his repaire hether will worke their vtter ouerthrowe. I haue, according to your request, recomended Captaine Hagerston, both vnto the Earle and to Sir Phillip Sidney, and I doubt not, (notwithstanding former informacions giuen against him), pat he shall receiue all honorable vsage at their hands for your sake. Sorie I am to vnderstand by you, that the late banisht Noblemen of that realme doe carrie them selues foe weakely since their returne, as to suffer them selues to be abused by those who haue fought their ruine. Surely, Sir, the Kings dispensacion with Arrens departure will reuiue some vnnecessarie ielousies here. I could wish therefore he would ether of himselfe, or were aduised by others, to take some such course herein as might minister noe cause of scandall. At the Court.

MEMORIAL CONCERNING A TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.¹

SCOTIA, JUNII 1586.

Memorial for Scotland.

THAT her Maiestie subscribe the articles of the League to be sent vnto the King.

IN this point I mistrust pe Secretary wilbe curious, and take aduantage to cauell.	THAT her Maiestie satisfie him touching the instrument for the assurance of the pen- cion yerely hereafter, title, &c.
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¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128. From the circumstance of the hand-writing in the two columns being different, it is probable that this is the original Memorial. The first column appears to be the answers for Queen Elizabeth to the proposals in behalf of King James.

See his remembrances sent by me to your Honour. Her Maiesties promise being 20,000l English, it will be dangerous to send lesse, specially for the first time, seeing the euill affected minds about the King, and that soe much is expected.

That I may carry pe certaine resolution hereof with me.

The Lord Threasurers letter to pe Master.

Vpon the assurance of these 2 men depends all her Maiesties partie in Scotland and the continuance of the league; but aboue all men loofe not pe Master.

Bycause of the extreme charges he is at, his want to hold it long out, and his own infirmities of body.

That for this first time the whole yerpencion may be sent at once, as the Kings selfe desireth.

That her Maiestie name her Comissioners, appoint the time and place of meeting out of hand, as the King desireth for many causes. That the like may be there also appointed of equall degree and qualities.

Her Maiesties letters of her owne hand	{	To the King.
		To the Master of Gray.
		To the Lord Hamilton.

Your Honors letters of your owne hand	{	To the Master of Gray.
		To the Secretary.
		To Barnaby M ^c Golegan.

That speciall regard be had of the Master of Gray and Lord Hamilton, the Secretary, Robert Cunningham, and Coldingknowes, with others, as Farret, Coluin, &c.

That against the time of the Commissioners meeting, Mr Randolph may haue leaue to retire to Barwicke, and there attend their coming, and her Maiesties further pleasure.

The cheefest point of all.

Laftly, to aduife vpon the deliuery of the mony, what way is to be taken for þe affurance of the King, and fuche about him as may hold him at her Maiefties deuotion.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.¹

SIR, Whereas in the Articles of the Treaty fufcribed by their Maiefties, it is fpecially ordred in the 9th article therof, that the Princes fhall fend their Commiffioners, within 6 moneths after the ratificacion of the League, to here and determine of fuch iniuries and controuerfies as haue growne on the Borders fince this Kings gouernment; bycaufe it is intended that the fame fhall now be done at this meeting of Commiffioners, in reducing of thofe articles into the forme of other treaties, that 9th article is purpofely left out and omitted, as needleffe and impertinent to be inferted into the League. And to the end there may be noe obftacle or hinderance in the feruice, by reafon of any defect in the Commiffion of ether fide, I fend you herin inclofed the coppie of her Maiefties Commiffion, which I wifh you fhould fhewe, that they there may be furnifhed with the like from þat King, and that they may accomplifh the contentis of the 9th article prefently; foe that thefe extraordinary caufes being compounded, the ordinary courfe of iuftice may proceed, by the frequent meeting of the Wardens of each Borders, to the reciproque comfort of the fubjects of both Realmes. And to the end the Commiffioners may not fpend long time in this treaty, to their owne chargis and the chargis of the princes from whome they are fent, it hath bein thought meete þat the Treaty fhould be reduced into fome forme, and deliuered vnto the Earle of Rutland and the Lord Eure, wherof I fend you a coppie, which you may communicate, if you fhall foe think good, vnto the Secretary there; which, conteyn- ing the true fubftance of the articles, it is conceiued here, that they will not diflike of; but if they fhould diflike of, it were good that you and I,

¹ From a copy, dated 5th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

before the meeting, by our mutual letteris should confider therof, and take some courfe for the remouing of the difficulties. From the Court.

This laft night, fondry of the Bells, Carelells, Kirkpatrickes, and other Scottifhmen, to the number of 100 perfons or aboue, haue come into England, burnt vpon the water of Efke to the number of 80 houfes (as I am informed), taken away about a 100 head of nolte, and 40 nags, with a greate bootie of infight and other goods from her Maiefties fubiects in England, thus burned by them.

Postfcript—Three dayes after, viz. the viijth of June, was the letter written for the addition to be made in the preface of the Treaty, and the ixth article thereof.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

Vpon the receipt of your Honours laft letteris, I am nowe in dealing with the Master of Gray to reduce his unquiet ftate, through involving of himfelf in exceffive chardges and trouble of minde, to compaffe with his honour this intended voyage to the Lowe Countries, to fome more quiet ftay, by moving of him to be contented to remayne at home with his frends about the King, and in his accuftomed credite. But trulie, if her Maieftie, or fome other, fhall not confider of his loffe receaving by entertayning of captaines, and levyng of foldiers, wherof fome number hath received money, I thinck he fhallbe vtterly vndone.

Yf it fhall ftand with her Maiefties pleafure, that he fhould accept a comiffion vppon him, ioyned with myfelf, who is like to be deftinate to doe the ceremony for obferuing of this league, I thinck it fhould doe him greate good many wayes, hereuppon, I pray you, let me have your Honours oppinion with as great fpeede as you fhall thinck meete.²

¹ This is an extract from a letter of the 9th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 138, fol. 226.

² Randolphe, the English Ambassador, also writes (5th August 1586): 'Touchynge the Master of Grays aboade here, and staye of his jorneye, I have dealte with hym so earnestlie as I maye. Kerr, this gentleman, is sente agayne from him. Your Honour shall receave

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.¹

I PERCEAUE the Queen and my Lord of Lestors defirest I should continue my choise for the leuie of men for Flanders. I am as willing as at any time before, but, as I wrote to your Lordship, of late I should see the matter tend to such delay, that, before God, I was altogether desperate of it, and began with the King an other course; so that if now I should slide in where I was, except it proceed from some other, he shall thinke it in mee a note of inconstancie. Therefore, I pray you, that her Maiestie will doe that curtesie for me, to craue it of the Kinge, and I shall be ready with all expedition, for I desire the purpose for many respects. From Dunfermling.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.²

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, Since my last vnto you, it hath pleased his Maiesty, my foueraigne, who was in the partes of Fife at my arrivall to Edinburgh, to appoint the Master of Gray his lodging there for admiffion of me to his presence, which was vppon the flowerth of May, where the Nobilitie, and such of the Councell as was present, receaved the bannkett. Before the King came in the house, the Secretarie had some conference with me in a private chamber, where he affirmed the Lordes vnderstood

his owne answer. The gentleman is greatly perplexed; his charges have byne greate; he hath borrowede greate sommes of monye; divers compaynies of soldiers all reddie, and the drume daylye soundinge to leaue greate numbers, and hath the Kings lycens vnder the greate seale; all which I have seen and hearde, but leave yt vnto your Honour to iudge therof as yow thinke good, not willinge, I am sure, to drive so good a frend and servant to that inconvenient that he shall foreuer loos bothe honour and credit, and foreuer lyve with shame.³ Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art 196.

¹ From a copy, bearing date 19th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 235.

² From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 119, fol. 203.

I was lodged to their greif, ffor that they were not made acquainted with my returne in Scotland, but that the same was done only by the King; and, therefore, they suspected that I had some secret course with him that might tend to their hurte. I assured him I meant no harme to no Scotteshman; but my coming home tended to this end, that I might be disburdened of the heavy sclander wherewith I had beane charged; and for this effect I would seeke both his Lordship and their favourable assistance when any occasion should be offered. After some propose of complement, he prayed that their might be playne dealing betwixt him and me, vppon knowledge therof he would assure me of his friendship in all matters that might touche me. I promised honest and playne dealing, so as he would assure me of the like. When as we were speaking, aduertisement was made that the King was coming, and comaunded that noe man should remayne in the chamber. After whose entrey some speeches beeing vttered by me, in commendacions of his humanitie, that so far had humbled him self as to come where one of the meanest of his subiectes was prisoner, I deliuered hir Maiesties lettre, which beeing read, he vttered theis or the like speeches:—‘At your departure I was your enemy, and nowe, at your returning, I am and shall be your friend. You are not ignorant what the lawes of the realme are, and what best may agree with my honour to be done for your suretie. I must confesse her Maiesties request in your favours to be honourable and favourable, and your desire to haue triall by affese to be honest; and I my self doe beleue that you are innocent of my Fathers murther, excepte in foreknowledge and concealing: a fault so comon in theis daies, that noe man of any dealing could misknowe, and yet so perillous to be revealed, in respect of all the actors of that tragedie, that noe man, without extreme danger, could vtter any speache therof, bycause they did see it, and could not amend it. And therefore, I will impute vnto you, neither foreknowledge, neither concealinge, and desire that you may aduise with my Secretarie what way may be most agreeable to my honour and your suretie in triall, and it shalbe performed.’ After that I had giuen thanks vnto his Maiestie, I could not forbear to let his Highnes vnderstand that it did appeare to me, that whatsoever it should be done in my favour were best to be

done at her Maiesties request; to the which he yealded. Thereafter he said to me, ' You haue nowe beene long in England, and hath, as I am informed, knowne her Maiesties meaning towards the title that I pretend to that crowne, when it shall please God to leaue that place vacant, and in like manner doth vnderstand the disposition of the mindes of her Highnes Councell therein, I desire you freelie deliuer vnto me what inclination you finde in them to my welfare in this matter.'

My answere was, that it was very true that I had bene long in England, and therefore necessary it would be for me, if I should trulie answere to his Maiesties question, to make diuision of the time of my abode, and to let his Maiestie vnderstand what opinion was had at every season or time that mutacion in gouernment had occurred in his owne realme, which was euer conceaved in opinion according to the nature or qualitie of the mutacion that happned to fall out. It pleased his Maiestie to vse some interruption ere he heard any further, and said, ' I knowe what you meane; you would lett me vnderstand that I am burdened and slandered for other men their dealinges. When matters shalbe well determined, my meaning shalbe, at all times, founde to be constant and friendlie towards her Maiestie. And of this parte I can take your self to record what hath beene my inward minde towards her Maiestie, ever since that time I directed the Master of Gray towards her Highnes, who hath since his returning at all times assured vnto me that I was mett with the like good minde, and if that be true, you are able to lett me vnderstand it.' I answered, that I well vnderstood that the Master of Gray had done the dutie of a trustie seruant, and had done many good offices there, speciallie in removing of many doubtles that had receaved deepe impressions, aswell in her Maiesties minde, as in the mindes of the best sorte of that realme; which doubtles were growing vpon some ill proceedinges and wrong informacion geuen out to his Highnes defadvantage: who were the reporters I knowe not, but the reportes were geuen out in all partes. He said, he did well vnderstand that he was calumniated by feditious men that he had made deffertion in religion; that he was blood thirsty; that he was inconstant in friendship, and vntrue in keeping of promese. But he tooke God to his witnes, how vntruly he was slandered in these pointes, by his indefcreete

preachers and unnaturall subiects, that he beleaved noe prince would allowe of, and speciallie her Maiestie beeing a prince subiect to the like slander her self, if she should permitt unbridled subiects to speake their pleasure of their naturall Prince. My answere was, that her Maiestie was not a little greeved to hear, that any subiect durst presume to speake any matter of their prince, and often times had been moved besides modesty in geving comande, that insolency in speaking against whatsoever prince should be restrained; but speciallie had geven direction that no imodeest minester should be tollerated to preach, lest they might haue used some vndecent speach, which she would haue noe wise left unpunished, if it had beene againste his Maiestie. But of late all matters was reduced in such state, that might concerne his Maiestie in that realme, that no man durst vtter any such speach as heretofore had beene spoken of. And if any should be so foolishhe, they would not fayle without delay to receaue punishment; and great expectacion was had thereof of late, that he would not alter the course he had begonne, neether exceed the boundes of reason, for any man his pleasure. After some speach of my Lord Treasurer and your Honour, in asking of your opinions of himself, and that I had fullie satisfied him thereagainst, he entred in some speache of the late Chauncelor, and of Colonell Stewart, alleadging him to be a simple bodie, (so he termed him), and was ready to departe out of this realme, and the other was alreadie departed, either to Ireland or some other place; so that he had left nothing vndone that had beene craved of him, excepting against some certain rebellious Englishmen, that had beene heretofore required, and the satisfaccion of her Highnes in honour, towards the murther, which he with all his heart lamented, of Sir Frances Ruffell, against the Jesuites, so he did terme the rebels; as God should be his Judge, he knewe not presentlie where they were, but he would expell them his realme, and would make certificacion to all such as had kept them, if they were found to be in the realme, he would deliver them. And to such as were suspected of that lamentable murther, he would leave nothing vndone that might satisfie her Maiestie, so that the same might not bring him in disgrace of his subjects, which he beleaved her Maiestie noe wise desired; and if any contravenors of his intencion should be found within his realme,

he was minded to invade them, and would ere now have performed the same, yf his owne realme had beene reduced to a quiet state; which he should shortlye see performed, if her Maiestie would assist him. I did answere, that I firmly beleevd her Maiestie would leaue nothing vndone that could be required in friendship, providing that he made her acquainted with his proceedinges, and founded his desire vpon reason. Besides this, I thought her Maiestie would be offended, if she should not be made acquainted that he stood in neede of any her assistance for the weale of his realme. It pleased his Maiestie to answere, That he had made noe creature acquainted with his meaning in that matter, but he spake it vnto me by way of discourse, which some day he thought to performe, to giue testimony of his good meaning. Finding him in so good termes, I said that there was divers of his frendes that mervayled, he being a Prince of so great expectacion, and in the age wherein courage was accustomed knownen rather by action than by speaking, that he made not offer to her Maiestie of sending his subiects in the Lowe Countrie, and thought also that it was not decent for his age to be idle, whenas her Maiestie and remanent Princes were in armes. Vpon this he entred in a long discourse, that I perceaved had beene putt into his head, of the difference betwixt offensing and defending. To which both he confessed him self to be bound in divers degrees, and to offend alone such as would offend her Maiesties person or state; and for his owne parte, albeit he had divers times enquired if her Maiestie did esteeme the King of Spayne her enemye, he never could receaue directe answere there vpon; and notwithstanding therof, if he could be assured her Maiestie would esteeme that worthy of thanks, he would make offer of forces, in proporcion lesse or more, as he should knowe to be expedient for the service, and would excuse himself that he had so long delayed the doing therof. This is the some of all matters that had passed by his Maiestie at that time, when as the Master of Gray came to the chamber, and showed the King that the Lordes were inquiring for what was become of him, thereafter the King said to me, 'I can tarrie me no longer at this tyme; of this farre assure your self, that I will doe all that may serue to your contentment for your private surety, and within fewe daies will speeke further with you. In this mean

time, you may assure such of your frendes as are in England of the sinceritie of my meaninge, and of the performance of such matter as heretofore I haue promised to her Maiesties Ambassadour.'

Ymediately after the King was retiret, Secretarie Maitland returned where I was, and said, he knewe the King was put to great expectacion that I would satisfie his minde in diuers matters he remayned doubtful. For his owne parte, he would be most glad that I might so doe, but beleued, by reason the time was so shorte that I was with the King, that there did remayne somewhat more to be spoken vnto his Maiestie, which he would be glad to vnderstand, and would endeavour him self to do all the good offices he could, both in my private state, and in any matter that might tend to the welfare of both the Crownes. After the geving of thankes, I shewed him that I had nothing wherein to deale with the King, untill such time as I had receaued my triall, and for the obteyning therof I prayed his frendship. He made answere, that he could be frend for him self; but he beleued that the Lordes, that was of late come out of England, had conceaued some suspicion of my coming home, which mouid them to think that I had some dealing with the King that might be to their preiudice. I answered, that my presente state was such that I could not goe out thence, neether openly abroade, untill such tyme I had receaued my triall, that my frendes might accompanie me where they were, at which time I could satisfie their Lordships in all respectes; in the mean time, I would moue some frendes be dealt with for removing that errour—of that number I prayed his Lordship might be one. Then after he entred in a large discourse of the King his proceedinge, that had so vnaduisedlie gone forwardis in the subscribing of this League, wherein noe reciprocall dealinge had beene vsed, (so he termed it), as might appeare by certen notes, in forme of Articles, that he had deliuered to her Maiesties Ambassador, and that the King had proceeded so far in his absence, and without the aduise of his Nobilitie, that would noe wise agree to such kinde of dealing; and for his own parte, he could not in conscience forbear to geue his Maister his best aduise, aswell howe to repayre that matter as to abstayne to goe forward, if the instrument promised should be refused to be geuen, (so they terme that

lettre which was geuen to the Ambassador). I answered, that his Lordship, beeing wife, might well consider that such kinde of dealing might procure hatred vnto him, specially of her Maiestie, if he should assaye to take back that which was already concluded. Besides, in the litle speache that I had with his Maiestie, it did appeare to me that he had wholly dedicated him self to be at her Maiesties deuotion; and if any should assaye to diuerte him therefrom, iust occasion of ill dealinge would be conceaued against them by himself, that might produce very hard effectes; and I thought it was very perrillous for his state to enter in that course. His answer was, if the King and his Nobilitie did well agree, (as he beleeeved they should), there was no danger for him in that matter. Thereafter he confessed to me, that he was entred in league or bonde with that parte of the Nobilitie that were comme home of late; as to the remanent, they would thank him and assist him; and as for the bond, there was nothing conteyned therein but that they ioynded them selues for the aduancement of the King his seruice; and therefore he was the more curious if I had any dealing, or was minded to deale, with the King, for drawing of him to the Quenes Maiestie of England her deuotion, without their aduise or privitye. Towardes my owne parte, I fully satisfied him in that point, and did give sufficient reasons that there was noe such meaninge, either in her Maiestie, or any of her counsellors. Albeit bothe reason and the veritie it selfe might haue led him to haue beleeeved my speache, yet my rethorique was not so sufficient as to fully satisfie him in this point. The reasons that moued him in the contrary were, that he vnderstood no nobleman in Scotland was dealt with [at] all in this matter of the League, except the King onlie; albeit in the power geuen to him mention was made, that the same should be concluded by the aduise of such of his Councell as he should think meetest to make choice of. Besides that, it was not the custome (as he alleaged) of this realme, that the Nobilitie would giue their consent in any matter of so great weight where they had not beene dealt with before, and therefore he thought that none of the Nobilitie, at least very fewe of them, would yeald their consent; and if pat were not done, he thought the King with time might be moved to consider of his sudden proceadure, which he

thought might some daye be reputed an error. He propounded diuers other argumentes, some of them *longe petita*. To all theis I answered, that I could not be perswaded that this course which he did propone could any whitt agree with their owne suretie, which, of necessitie, behoved to depend from her Maiesties credite with the King, which, if they would hinder the course of frendship betwixt the Princes, they should in like manner cutt of their owne suretie: Besides, I feared, if her Maiestie should be informed of any parte of their meaning, it would move her Maiestie to consent to goe further with the Kinge in private frendshipp then might well agree or stand with their welfare: Therefore, since foundes of frendship were knitt vpp amongst them, I prayed him advisedlie to proceede for his and their suretie, which I thought could noe wise subsist but by frendship betwixt thes twoo princes, whereby it was necessarie that the King should be bound by all meanes to the observing of quietnes; and the more straightlie that he should finde himself obliged to her Maiestie, the greater would be their suretie. This speach (as appeareth) rather did move him then satisfie him. And this was the somme of all that did passe amongst vs, the particulers whereof I am constrained to lay open vnto your Honour, (albeit I shall thereby haue noe better reputacion then to discourse as William Erle), to the end your Honour may better iudge vppon the present state then I [am] able to declare any sound opinion, which, notwithstanding, I will not forbear, (according to my present knowledge), to sett downe vnto your Honour, so far as I can either learne or vnderstand by speaking with the King.

There is not in all his realme anie gentleman, of whatsoeuer estate, more at her Maiesties devocion then the King him self, and so would continue by all appareance, if he shalbe suffered to goe forwardes with his owne inclination and love towards her Maiestie. On the other parte, it may be well vnderstood by confederacies and other proceedinges, amongst such as are affociate, that their meaning is to alter his minde, and to bring him to another course; if not at this present, with time they minde to performe it, (as by divers plottes which some of them hath propounded vnto the King will appeare.) The some whereof her Maiesties Ambassador, (who can verie sufficientlie dischardge that office), will more largelie make

to your Honour knowne, as also of the proper remedies that he hath vsed, and will vse, for remedying of such inconveniencies as otherwise might suddenly fall out.

So to conclude this vnformall lettre, I am constreyned to lay open before your Honour the vnquiet state of the Master of Gray, who having founded his desire to doe her Maiestie service, vpon this argument, that the King his maeſter could never be made sure to her Maiestie, and that realme, (ſpeeallie having conſideracion to thoſe that were about him), vnles he ſhould be inworked by action in any thing that might concerne her Maieſtie, or be to the benefitt of her ſtate, and conclude that I would craue to be ymployed for the leading of men in the Lowe Country. To which his deſire, the Secretary and thoſe affociates did oppone themſelves, wherevpon noe ſmall emulation hath growen amongſt them, which is not removed through any outward agreeance, but rather daylie increaſeth in ſuch forte as ſuch men as love him fares noe better for his cauſe. And albeit the King ſaid vnto my ſelf, that he would make offer of his people to ſerue in that country, and make excuſe that he had beene ſo long in doing thereof; yet the partie aduerſe hath ſince that time ſo altered his minde, that he now ſayeth he can not permitt any to goe in that iourney, vnles the Quenes Maieſtie ſhall declare vnto him that the King of Spayne is her enemy. And the Secretary hath ſaid to my ſelf, that the merchants of Scotland, that nowe finde ſome benefite by traffique in Spayne, and noe favour in England, hath made ſute to the King pat he ſhould not, without great cauſe, looſe the favour of that countrey. In the mean time, that the Maſter hath remayned in hope to be ymployed in that ſeruice. So many colonells, captaynes that hath ſervice in the warres before, gentlemen and knightes of good calling, have adioyned them ſelves vnto him in hope to goe in that ſeruice, that his ordinary number of that kinde of people is very greate, and daily doe increaſe. The names of moſt parte of them, pleaſe your Honour receave, with private note vpon ſome of them. Through their awayting vpon him, his charges dayly is vnſupportable for him to beare out. And that which is worſe, he knoweth not howe to bee ridd of them with favour, vnles he ſhall ſatiſfy their expectacion by employing of them. Beſides this, it doth appeare that if he ſhall not be employed, his

credite with his master the King, by meanes of his enemies, shalbe shaken, and by consequence be vnable to doe her Maiestie seruice, according to his intendid meaninge. Pitty it were a personage so well devoted to her Maiesties seruice, and of so good deservings, should be in danger to perishe. I will pray your Honour to consider hereof, and to move my Lord Treasourer, (vppon whose iudgement he affirmeth to depend), to send him your best advises what shall bee meetest for him to doe in this matter that toucheth him so neere. The names of the colonels, that your Honour may perceauie to be marked, haue beene noted with some suspitious seruice, and doubtful, and yet they doe affirme that they are able to cleare themselves. Twoo of them speciallie, Halkerston and Panton, are of highe humours, tending rather to too much then too little, speciallie Panton, that inclines somewhat towards mutiny. I haue had some speache with them all, but most speciallie with Colonell Boyde, who appeareth to bee of good nature. I haue had conference with him vppon his seruice that hath beene passed, wherein I thought he might be touched greatlie in honesty; and vnles he might make him to be knowne honest in that matter, I gaue him counsell that he should not offer him self in the presente service. He answered, that he was well able to make his honestie to appeare, and would not fayle for performing thereof, to goe in that countrey, albeit it should be without chardge, with one harguebushe on his shoulders for trying thereof. In the end it was concluded, that if so should be your pleasure, he would come to your self in England, and make his whole cause knowne to your Honour, and would in present manner let you vnderstand, that he would be well able to performe some secrete service that might put his honestie and reputacion to be voyd of all question. It may please your Honour to let me vnderstand yf you rest satisfied with his cominge to your Honour. He mindeth to departe from thence to the Lowe Countrey, for performing of the service wherewith he shall make your Honour acquainted. I haue beene these dayes past wried with the receauing of welcome from my frendis, that I could not get leasure to write of any graver matter. Most humbly I craue your Honours fauour that this lettre may make my excuse to my singuler good Lord, my Lord Treasourer, whose honour I mind to trouble with ill writing, when

occasion shall be offered, of a more graver subject. And so, craving pardon for my boldnes to trouble you with so long a letter, I humbly take my leaue. ffrom my Lord Ambassadors lodging, at Edinburgh, this fixte of May, [1586].

Your Honours moste humble to
command with service,

A Douglas

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I RECEAVED a letter of yours of the date of the xvijth hereof, and haue seene another to the Master of Gray, wherevpon he craues my aduise towards this mocion, made of late, of his iourney towards my Lord of Leicester.

Truly, Sir, the gentleman doth not a little marvayle, howe it hath fallen oute, that he was firste animated to the said voyage, then discharged, after noe small losse of expenscs bestowed, as well for his particular preparacion, as for the enterteynement of diuers that would haue gone with him in companie; besides, in respect of this discharge, he hath beene constreyned to take a newe course with him self for his private affayres, by settling his fortune with his Maister, and enterteyning of his former credite in his companie.

In respect of theis promisses, he prayeth me to consider with my self, howe vnseemlie it would be to haue to deale with the King, vpon the suddain, in the contrary, in a matter where vnto he had not only yeilded of before, but by meanes procured all those matters. He is constraigned to think vpon, by reason of the mutacion that worldlie matters are subject vnto, and to imagine thence this deliberacion may alter, as others haue

¹ From a copy bearing date 23d June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 237.

done, and by consequence indanger his credite and whole reputacion, besides the losse of his goodes and fortune that he hath alreadie susteyned, which are more then his state can beare; wherein I can be a witnes by my self, that hath neither left nor shall leaue any thing vndone, that may aduance either your Lordships desire, on his said voyage or welfare. But what counsell is to be geuen in theis matters, hardlie can I tell, alwaies this farre we haue concluded to pray your Honor be assured that the same mind to doe her Maiestie seruice, and to the said Erle all the seruice and good offices he can devise, doth as yet remayne in his minde as before; but neither the meanes, neither the libertie of him self, are so great as before they were to performe that matter, which he with so good will would accomplish. The nearest way how theis matters may be helped, he thinkes, wilbe that either her Maiestie or the said Erle may be movid to write to his said Soueraigne, that he may be perswaded to geue comand to him to goe forward in the said iourney; to this effect he did pray me to accompanie a letter to your Honour, which I could not refuse.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I HAUE noe further to write presentlie, excepte that which I haue alreadie certified to my Lord Ambassadour, who will make your Honour acquainted therewith.

I fend you herewithall this, with inclosed copie of a letter to the Master of Gray from my Lord the Erle of Leicester. By letteris from the said Master, your Honor will vnderstand of what intention he doth remayne towarde this voyage to the Lowe Countrey, and what impedimentes appeareth necessary to be removed. I am of that opinion, if her Maiestie cannot be movid to write the King for the furthering of that iourney, neether that the Erle his letter can come hither with speede required in this matter, that it shalbe well done that the Ambassadour be instructed to

¹ From a copy dated 27th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 241.

deale in this matter with the King, who hath, I assure you, conceived a very good opinion of him.

His Maiestie is presentlie here at Dunfermling with the said Master, and to remayne for the space of vij daies after the date hereof. Our Secretarie hath also beene heere to moue his Maiestie in some matters tending to delay of his League, and for streight going forward in theis matters of Border; but hath not prevailed. The French Ambassadour hath beene at Courte since the arrival of this messenger from that realme. His chieftest errand was to sollicit, that noe man should goe out of this realme to the Kinge of Navarre; and to shew the King of his master his good succeſſe in busenes at home, he doth constantlie affirme that the Erle of Leiceſter is sick; whereof I haue thought good to make your Honour aduertised. Comonly such proceedinge brutes from that careles notion of mens lives accompanied with ill effectes; at least experience may teach men that, in times passed, such brutes hath not refen vnto such time as the intencion of the enemy was well founded. It hath pleased him also to speake his pleasure of me to the King. But I beleeeve the graunting of libertie to such men to come hither, by permission, shall breede more harme to the comon cause, then against me in particular. And so, Sir.

From Dumfermling.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I AM commandit by his Maiestie to vryt to you a feu lines, and, before God, if euer I haid credite at your hands, I must now imploy it for his Maiestie. In some difficulties pat occuris in this meiting of the Comissioners for the League, but cheifly in the nint article, vitche hes, as appeiris, proceedit from your self, for if ye haid lattan it be in the forme it ves firste set down, noe contrauension haid ryſin of it: Bot now the dif-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 245.

ference is in the tym, vitch the King defyris to be from his Coronation, and it is fet down in the fubfcriuit League only from the acceptation of the Gouernment in his auin hand. The caufe of this comes by reafon the King is informit, þat the fkaithes dune to England of lait yeiris ar fo gryt, þat he and his fubiects are not aible to repay them, vithout they be recompensit by fume dune of befor by England to his realme and fubiects. Bot þis is a maiter that requyris a long difputation, and hardly can be defydit at þis tym. Thairfor, according to your defyr in a pairt, the Kings Maieftie craueis þat the nynt article be omittit in the League; and forder, þat the reafoning of it be continuit, ether to the meiting of the Lieutenantis for bothe the realmes, or than til futche tym as exprefly Commiffioners be deput for þat effect; vitch is, in þe felf, verie veichtie. Sir, lat it be dune, I pray you, for, befor God, the Kings Maiefties honourable and princely dealing at þis tym meritis more þan þat he craues, for he hes fhauin him felf fo veil affectit at this tym, þat many of his auin fubiects accomptis him a better Englifh man than Scotife man. Thairfor, I pray you oneis agene, that he be accordingly delt vitheall, feing the maiter contrauentit is of no gryt importance, and futche a maiter as I am affurit the Queins Maieftie vil neuer mak a queftion in vith his Maieftie. The only regret is, þat the Noble menis ftay at the meiting by it fhall be fome quhat long, bot þe remed is the foner to heaft anfuer. And I pray you lat it be, for you fhall find many heir quho feikis no better occafion than this to caft all thingis afe. Mr Myllis can tell you quhou nobly and fracly the King fpak þis day in this maiter: fo in that I remit me to him.

Yesterday I refaueit from my Lord of Leicefter dyuers letters, bot all tending to one effect, defyring þat he may fpeik vith me in Veff Holland; bot all ver befor Captaine Hakerftouns arryuell thair, fo þat nou I think he hes chaingit deliberation. Bot vpon vord from him, I fhall leaue no thing vndune þat I can, albeit in deid it lyis not in my hand to do fo mutche as of befor, for the reafonis conteinit in my former letteris. Bot the remedys ar to you knowin, and yit I fhall repet them fhortly: firft, in refpect þat it pleafis þe King nou to giue me þis fame place I haid of before, I can not leaue him, bot by his auin command. Secondly, feing I fruflrat bothe my felf, and all þe gentlemen and captaines my fodiouers,

to our gryt chairgis, it shall be a thing not possible to harnafs them the second tym vith out a gryt certaintie, for they fe all worlde courfis subiect to chaingeis. Than, ether the Quenis Maieftie, or my Lord, or bothe, must craue it of the King, and present moyens must be fend for þe satisfaction of the gentlemen. Bot I remit þis to your self and all vther particularities to Mr Archibald Douglas, quho, I hoype, shalbe schortly vithe you, fend by his Maieftie in maiters of importance to the Queins Maieftie. The King lykis verie veil of him. If my Lord of Leicefter hes any forder to deall vithe him, yt shalbe veil dune he fend it to your Honour, for he vil be at you vithin tuentie dayis, and hes to fatiffie my Lord from his Soueraine verie amply. The gryt heaft shall mak me conclud in committing you to Godis holy protection: From Dumfermeling, þis last of Junij, 1586.

Your loving frend to be commaundit,

Mr of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Francis
Walsinghame, principal Secreatary
to the Queens Maieftie of England,
and one of the Counfall thair.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.¹

SIR, I haue movid her Maieftie to write her letteris to the King for the imployment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries. But she findeth his abode in that realme more necessarie, ffor that she hath of

¹ From the original Minute in Walsingham's hand, 22d July 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 277.

late receaved secrete aduertifementes out of France, that the French Ambaffadour there with you hath geuen great affurance vnto the Queen Mother of greate matters to be there wrought and brought to paffe, by the Lord Claude and his partie. For the difcouery of the bottome of which practife, ſhe would haue you deale both with the Maſter of Gray and Mr Archibald Douglas, that they vſe ſome extraordinary care therein, and yet would ſhe haue the matter handled with all the ſecrecie that is poſſible. Thus much was I willed to write to you with ſpeede, and therewith to ſend you her Maieſties letter to the King, for your revocation. I pray you let my haſte of writinge excuſe me to the Maſter of Gray and Mr Douglas in not writing to them. And ſo, Sir.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, before the receaving of yours bearing date pe xxijnd of this inſtant, I was minded to haue written unto you a diſcourſe of the ſtate of this country, from the doing whereof I did abſteyne during the abode of my Lord Ambaffadour, ſpecialie bycauſe I ſawe his Honour inclined to deale only with the King, my ſoveraigne, as beeing both reaſonable and that way inſtructed, whereof I did beſt like; albeit in veritie the preſent ſtate of his realme, through diverſitie of factions in religion, and profeſſion in minde obedient to fundrie authorities, did otherwiſe require. In this matter I have been ſome parte curious of late, and have diſcovered divers matters to be miſliked of. A parte of them I made your Honour acquainted with before, and therewithall ſhewed my opinion that the danger appeared not to be greate, unles ſome matter of force ſhould come from foreine partes, that might alter the preſente ſtate. By that letter I declared from what ground the ill did proceede, and the remedies that did appeare moſt proper to reduce in the ſtate of this coun-

¹ From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 193, fol. 279, where the date is given 30th July 1586.

trey to some more assured quietnes. To this letter it was not your Honours pleasure to give any speciall answere. In respect whereof, and for discharge of my dutie and promise to her Maiestie, my Lord Treasurer, and to yourself, I haue accepted a charge from my Sovereigne, to be directed towards her Maiestie, with matters of no small importance. And that be all apparent might helpe these matters, being well vsed, at the best, my dutie in all respectes may appeare thereby to be discharged, I am not ignorant of the dealing that men are traveling into in this realme, but as yet I cannot perceave that they are like to take effecte, shortly at the least. For this some states the force shall come from forrayne partes. And if the worst should fall out before October, I cannot finde a better remedie to helpe that matter, then that the Master of Gray should be making his forces and preparations readie towards the Lowe Countrey, while that season was passed. As for my owne parte, if I were not to farre gone forwards in this my intended iourney, taken on vppon mine owne charges, that I cannot goe back without declaracion of some misliking towards my Sovereigne, and that my staying might breede divers waies harme to the good effectes that my iourney appeared to produce, I could be contented to remayne at home, and thereby avoyde the envie of such as hath employed their whole credite to procure my abidinge. But yet I cannot perceive, that in the end either the Master of Grayes, or my abidinge, or moe with us, can be able to stay the intended projectes, vnles matters be more deepele founded, and the disease cured from the grounde, either by medicamentes lenitive or courosive. I must leave further of this matter to some other letter, or to my owne cominge. As towards this iourney intended by the said Master of Gray, I finde him therein so implacable since the receipt of this letter for staying thereof, that I can not tell what way to deale with him theranent. He alleadgeth that his charges bestowed for the advancement thereof is so excessive, that if his whole heritage were sold, the price would not pay his debtes. And that, besides that losse of goodes, he thinketh himself so farre interested in honour, by contramandements and desire to goe forward, that he cannot live in reputacion in this realme, but must needs departe from thence to forrayne countries. Hereof he would impute a parte of the

blame unto me. I knowe his necessity of late was so greate, that, when he was minded to fettle his abode at home, ix hundred lib Sterling, for the which I became bound, was not able to cover his necessitie. What is to be done in this matter, I pray your Honour may be declared to Captayne Hackerston his fervant, sent to know your Honours pleasure what shall become of him, and who knowes what charges he hath been of late.

The particularities of these intended proiectes would be long to write; but this farre may appeare, that the generall tends to this end that Protestant and Papist factions for King and Queene should all agree in one to drawe the King to their appetite; and, I will assure you, contrarie to his owned will or minde, as by this private dealing partlie may appeare. Our Secretarie hath so dealt with the Carres, that were minded to enter into England, for satisfaction of her Maiesties honour anent the murther of Sir Francis Ruffell, that, by interposed persons, he hath made them to believe howe innocent foever they be, they wilbe ill used if they shall enter in that realme. Such terrour they have receaved by his meanes that they are become fugitive and denounced rebelles. The King hath desired of the Ambassadour, that they shall receive no favour in England, and hath promised that he shall cause theire houses be possessed by others, and all other rigour and extremitie vsed against them. Albeit his meaning is herein very good, yet, in respect of those proiectes, I must needes doubt of the performance. This matter is of noe small weight. They are the chiefeft men of that name, and the principall of that frontier. In respect whereof, I haue, since the departure of the Ambassadour, obtained commission of the King to deale with them, and have so farre travayled that, vppon my worde, they are contented to enter at Carlisle, wher I shalbe to convey them thither. I thinck it shalbe well done to write to my Lord Scroope for their safe receaving and keeping, till such time as her Maiesties further pleasure shalbe known herein. Yf it might be your Honours pleasure, I would be glad to vnderstand the intended determinacion against them; for forrie I would be, through desire to doe good, to procure harme against myself or frendes. What hath beene my dealing therein Thomas Milles can declare.

In the end, I must conclude this informall letter in theis termes: If any matter shall fall out in this countrey that may be preiudiciall to that realme, the irrefolucion of that State cannot be without blame, that will not put remedie to matters when as they may be helped. And notwithstanding thereof, this farre your Honour may be assured of, that noe thing shall be left vndone here that may helpe matters in the best forme we can. Glad I would be to knowe yf this late intelligence hath any appearance to be dangerous in short time.

I can perceauie noe further by the Lord of Fyntrey then that which I wrote before. He is presentelie in this towne, in dealing for a mariage with Secretary Lethington his daughter.

I am affrayed that Mr Johne Colvill his covetousnes to be in credite shall be noe goode. Of one thing I must putt you in remembrance, that you are like to loose the Master of Glamis for lack of writing vnto him. I was ever of that opinion that it was necessary to keepe all men in good expectation. And so, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR ARCHBALD DOUGLAS,
EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING'S MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND,
TOWARDS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, Becaus I am shortly to fend Roger with his Maiesties letters to you, I will not write at lenche. Ye do evil that taxis the Secretary with any maiter by letter to his Majestie: for sic dealing, of necessitie, must neidis have good men and veilvillars to comment on, or than evil villars makis evil constructions. His Majestie by Roger is to vryte to the Q. congratatorie, to my Lord Leicester, and Sir Francis, I beleieve to the Thesaurer, so he has promissit to me. As for the first pairt, tutching the conspiracie, I cannot now vryte at lenche, bot differris it til I fend Roger; yit this far I advertis you, that the King is veil villit in all thingis as ye left him, and verie glaid of the decoverie of this maiter. Bot his opinion

¹ From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 568.

is that it cannot stand with his honour, that he be a consentir to tak his Mother's lyf, bot he is content how strictly she be keipit, and all hir auld knaifish fervantis heingit, cheifly thay who be in handis. For this you must deal verie varly to eschen [escheu] inconvenientis, seeing necessitie of all honest menis affairs requyris that she var out of the vay. I committis you to God.

Your affectionat Friend,

P. MASTER OF GRAY.

From Dumf. this 8th of
September 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

there verrie honest gentleman. Bot as by my last I must pray you, upon my obligation to be comptable to th'Erle of Leicefter and Estaitis, I may haue of her Maiestie 2000 or fyftein hunder pound,² and if any thing be superplus, it shall come to be pay-breif, it shall debat so mutche to me, and be holl troupes, if I giue a cleir compt. I am affurit no Almaine would haue listit four thousand foot men vithe ane hundrethe hors, for fyftie thousand crounes, and my nombre is litle les, and better grilnishing³ shalbe of no country. I pray you, Sir, yf you forder this and send me vord with diligence, for if I fal fell my land, or my jowels, it vilbe thocht I am not vyse, and some litle discredit it shalbe to hir Maiestie; and, befor God, if it be not send from thence, I must do it, for I vil giue liberally to gentlemen, and tym feruis not pat I can send for it now to my Lord of Leicefter. I remit me than to you and hir Maiesties favor-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 213, fol. 317. This article is imperfect, the first sheet of the original being wanting.

² '1586, August. A warrant for £2000 delivered to Master of Gray of Scotland, to levy certayn footmen in Scotland for the Lowe Countryes.'—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 785.

³ Sic in manuscript.

able dealing towardis me; afchuir you it fhall neuer come in my handis. Sir, I haue vrittin to his Maiesties Ambaffadour of ane aduertifement I hard yifter nicht. I pray you inquire it of him, for it is not impertinent. The Eternall be vithe you for euer. From Dumfermling pis 9th of Sept. 1586.

Yours as his auin to be comandit,

W. of Gray.

Sir, for the bettir impreffion, I leaue laft to recommend vnto you pis bearer, to you veil knowin. It fhallbe verie vil dun, and I pray you pat ye favour him in his fute, for he may doe great good in my abfence; for affur you noe man gettis founer knowledge of thingis than he, and is not furer to aduertis. The King in lyke maner vil think veil of it pat he be veil vfit. I affur my felf than that ye vil do for him.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Walsingham, principall Secretary to
the Quenes Maieftie of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, the Queenes Maieftie beeing made acquainted with the contents of your laft letteris of the xxxth of Augufte, and fecond of this prefent, directed vnto me, doth think her felf greatlie beholden vnto you, for the care you feeme to haue to further any thing that you may iudge to be for the benefite and aduancement of her feruice: which geuing her iuft caufe to haue like care of the fafetie of that realme, and of your own good and

¹ This and the following article are from the original minutes in Walsingham's handwriting, dated 14th Sept. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 208, fol. 311, 312.

well doing in particular, she hath willed me to lett you understand, that she findeth it inconvenient you should send over into the Lowe Countries any greater number of foldiers than those that are already transported: wherein her iudgement is grounded vpon theis two considerations; first, that some sturres or alteracions beeing likelie to happen in that realme, as may be coniectured by the claimes made by the Lord Maxwell, some parte of theis troopes, which in likelihoode doe consist of your friends, seruantes and dependantes, were fittest to be reteyned at home, for the better strength and defence of the realme and your owne safety; and next, bycause she vnderstandeth from my Lord of Leicester, that the States doe not keepe promise in the due answering of such contribucions as they haue offred, whereby her Maiestie doubteth that the greater number you carry, the worse you shall be paid, which she should be verie forrie should so fall out.

Touching the Captens named in your letter that served at Bruges, for whose imployment you desyre to knowe my opinion, though the gentlemen, in the yealding vp of the towne, were constrained by reason and necessitie to doe as they did, yet, bycause the people of the countrey are by nature subiect to ielousie and suspicion, and not easilie movid from any concept or apprehencion that they once take of thingis, in the discourse of their owne reason, I doubte me, therefore, it would rather doe harme than good, that you should haue them about you. I may nott also omitte to lett you vnderstand, as one very desirous that the protested, and nowe so well settled, amitie and frendshipp betweene our twoo Soveraignes should remayne and continue in those good termes that it standeth at this present, for their owne honor, safetie, and the weale of their subiectes, which maketh me the more careful to foresee and prevent such inconveniences as may breede any hinderance and interupcion of the same, that there are diuers brutes geuen out, aswell in France as here in England, of an intended matche betweene the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamiltons daughter; which sound as though the ill affected, both here and in Scotland, did conceave some hope that the said match would bring forth some effectes, whereof might ensue a newe alteracion in that state, and also a breach of that straight amitie betweene their Maiesties. So, as

I feare, left the opinion of such an alteration to followe by meanes of the said matche, may minister matter and occasion of such mislike as was here conceavid of the alteration in St Andrewes; and therevppon I haue thought fitt to forewarne you thereof, to th'end that you may for your parte perswade the King, your soueraigne, not to giue his consent to the going forward of the said matche, vntill he hath made her Maiestie acquainted with all, according to his owne promise made vnto her, that he would depend vppon her aduise and counsell in matters of great importance, of which kinde this seemeth to be one.¹ And so, Sir. Windfore.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, I thank you for founding the Kings disposition, howe he could be content to haue the Queen his mother proceeded against for the late facte. But I suppose it will be in vayne to move him any further in it, bycause he may conceive it would be againste *bonos mores*, in respect of the bond of nature betweene them, that he should make him self a partie againste her; neuertheless you may with good reason perswade him, that he make no mediacion for her, or oppose him self against the course that is intended to be heald with her, considering the hard measure that his Father receaved at her handes; for which detestable facte she was deprived of her crowne. It is meant that she shall be tried here according to the acte made in the last Parliament, and that, agreeable to the contents of the said acte, certain Noble men shall be appointed to chardge her, who assemble for that purpose the xxvjth of this moneth, and shall be with her by the fourth of the next at Fodringay Castle in Northampton shire, feaven miles from Stamford, whether she is appointed to be brought. But the matters whereof she is guiltie are alreadie so playne and manifest, (beeing also confessed by her twoo Secretaries), as it is thought, they shall

¹ See Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland, p. 5. Edin. 1828. 4to. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

require noe long debating. We suppose she will appeale and challenge the priviledge of her foveraigntie, which, in this cafe, neither by the Civile lawes, nor by the lawes of this realme, can be avayleable.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE AND LOVING FRIEND,
MY LORD EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND
TOWARDIS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.¹

MY LORD, I refaveit your letter this 28th, daitit the 21. His Majestie is verie veil content vith all your proceidings, bot cheifly tutching his boukis and hunting horsfes.² I pray you negotiat fo veil that ye fael not to efectuat subftantially that point. As for his Mother, his command is you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can affhur you he is content the law go fordvert, her life being fave, and would glaidly vifche that all foraine Princefs fould know how evil she had ufith hirfelf towardis the Q. Majestie thair, and that she refaveis favour through her clemencie. I commit your L. to God

Your L. as is awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Falkland this 29th of
September 1586.

¹ From MURDIN's State Papers, p. 569.

² Queen Elizabeth seems, as a matter of policy, to have humoured King James in his favourite pastime of hunting, by sending him horses, huntsmen, &c. Randolphe thus writes (5th August 1586) to Mr Archibald Douglas:—'I have sent the Kynge two hunting men, verie good and skillful, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow and crye, that all the trees in Fawkland will quake for fear. Pray the Kynge's Majestie to be mercifull to the poor bucks; but let him spare and look well to himself;—*Murdin*, p. 558.

SIR HENRY WODDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAME.¹

THE vjth of this instant there came to this towne 140 foldiers, that were shipt by the Master of Gray forthe of Scotland into Flanders, who were taken vpon the coast of Flanders by those of Dunkirke, all spoiled, the captaine and lieutenant carried away, and certaine of them slaine to the nombre of 20, who cutt downe theire maine mast, bougheftd² there shippe with greate ordnance, and tooke away their pomp, and left them without ether faile or anker on the maine fea; who landed about Bambroughe, and coming hether, hauing nothinge left them, I defrayed their chargis here, and gaue them some money to carry them home. Berwick.

TO MR SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.³

MY GOOD LORD. To the effect your Lordship may know my meanes and intention, not onely to ferve for making your Lordship acquaynted and pre-fence of foch forayne courfes and plottes, as may be eyther prejudiciall to the King my masters advancement, or yet to the standing and continuance of her Maiesties most noble estate of England, I thought expedient to make your Lordship advertised by this present, pat immediately after my Lordes return to Scotland, I was pressed to travell with the Master of Gray, Sir James Steward, sometime Erle of Arane, (who continues still in the Kinges favor and good grace), pat matters being taken upp betwene them, and a fure contract and band of perpetuall frendshipp subscribed by them both, he might frelye refort to his Masters prefence, and

¹ From a copy dated 7 Nov. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 240, fol. 440.

² Sic in manuscript.

³ HARLEIAN MSS. No. 290, fol. 170. This letter has no date, but it evidently refers to matters prior to Nov. 1586; and appears to have been written from Scotland by some secret favorer of England. In some places the manuscript is illegible.

so that by his perswasion the Kinge might bothe more easlye be moved to embrace the French course, and present armes against England, unlesse pat he have his Mother sett at lybertye. For, suppose the Quenes Maiestie of England wold, at the Kinges desire, forgiue this his Mothers offence, it will nowght be sufficient at this time, onlesse she will putt her at libertye; for we suppose pat ye dare not effectuate any thing agaynst our Quenes life, in respect of these accidents pat are fallen owt, so farre by your expectation, in the Low Contryes; so pat ye are only purposed to kepe her, and to dispone your selves to peace and quietnesse with Spayne and France by her redeliverye, when ye shalbe putt to it. And soch was the discourse of our Embassadors to the King our master. There is no small jelowsye betwene the Secretarye and the Master of Gray; for the one presseth to have regresse to his former credit to his owne person, so pat the departure of the Embassador into France is delayed till the incomming of the English Embassadour. Emulation makes the Master the more willing to deale with James Steward, by whose meanes the other may be debased; which, if it take effect, will be the only meanes to draw the Kinges maiesty from England, and therefore I thought good to hold the Master of taking any sodayne resolution in this matter, till your Lordships advertisement, and shall hinder or further the same as your wisdom shall thinke nedefull. I have not yet had leasure to communicate with the Jesuites, but I am advertised that they are to offer any what somme of monye to his Maiesty by suspect person, to push him forward in the suing for his Mothers libertye. Alwayes within few dayes I shall make your Lordship pefence of weyghtier maiters, as they shall fall forth.

There is a great contention betwixt the King and the Ministrie for praying for his Maiesties Mother; but now they are content to pray for her conditionallye. It may be your Lordship receave a packett of Monsieur Courcelles letters at the French embassador Chauneuf. I have delt so with them bothe as to be able by my moyen, to make theyr secret letters to . . . to your Lordship ha I desire, (as yow wold wishe matters to continue,) that yow governe this matter with all kinde

of crafte and fecrecye, for fo may it redound to your Lordships creditt, and advancement of the cawfe. I fpake with Mr Archibald, towching thefe poynts, at length in this turne before my awaycoming, with whome it may please your Lordship to advife. As towching my felfe, your Lordship fhall finde no lacke of conftancye and fecrett dealing on my parte. I will loke for the like in your Lordship, and foch other frendshipp as I have hard your Lordship to be moft liberall of to them to whome your Lordship beares good will unto, and no otherwife then I fhall deferue at yowr Lordships handes.

The Mafter of Gray is to fend George Gray, his page, fhortlye into France; alwayes at the next advertifement I fhall make your Lordship advertifed in particular of that he ganges for, with foch other thinges as fhallbe more to your contentement. So abiding your advertifement, etc.

To Mr Secretary Walsingham.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREND MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, AMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

MY LORD, This bearer is directit, according as ye and he defyrit, in the beft *Subt.* that for the prefent occurrit, as ye fhall underftand by himfelf. I had vrottin by him a long letter at his Majefties command, but I am contremandit til we heir from you. Yet I fhall fommerly fet fomething doun, but keip it from all men. This letter would only have been vrottin by me, and directit to your Lordships felf, bot to the end ye fhould divulgat it through that Court. Becaus the King beginneth to think that he hes done more for the Queene thair, and that country, than he hes re-

¹ From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 571, where it is printed from the original.

favit any great appearance of good meining, he villit you and me to made [make] it manifest, that through the apparent subject that men had heir, cheifly sic as are about him evil affectid, to speik, he should at lenthe be moveit to run some other course: In few wordis, this ves all the somme of the long letter. And by God, I am of the opinion, if franker meining and dealing both be not usit towardis him, he shall do this in effect: Bot till ye shall reseve advertisement ye shall reveil this to no man. I find his Majestie in conscience as yit ryt fast, and he vill be lothe to tak evil impressions; bot ye know quhat tyme doeth vork in all kind of subjects, and cheifly in the myndis of Princes. I would not vryt this plainly in my last, because it ves sent only by pacquet vithout a fure berar. All men drives at him, first for his Mother, nixt for the maiter of his Title; for they think be the first to move him, for the dishonour it ville be to him; nixt for his title, becaus be that they think his Majestie shall see vthier thay mein evil or veil towardis him: Bot of this ye shall know forder by my nixt. You shall see that the Guisfarchis and his Mothers friendis shall tak occasion upon theis motives to deal, both directly and indirectly, vithe his Majestie. And for my pairt, I have takin this resolution to serve his Majestie faithfully and first: And if I see England to mein veil, I asshur [you] I shall remaine constant that vay; if not, I mynd to follow no course partially, bot to het and love according to my Masters mynd. This, in few vordis, is my resolution. As for my negotiation in his title to that Crown, asshur you I mynd never to crave it, or any dealing in it; bot if I cannot escheu, I vill do quhat ever my Maister commandis me, without respect. My Lord Leicester has sent at dyverse tymes a offre of the proprietie of the Low Countryis to the Kingis Majestie, and now of late, and craves ane answer. It is a thing, if the King might have it by the Queenis advise thair, not to be refusit; bot except he obtain hir good vill, and not only hir good vill, bot she prays him to tak it, that he vil not accept it. The King longis greitly to heir from you, cheifly twitching his Mother; thair-for spair not the first occasion, I pray you. Let me feil frankly, without any kynd of scruple, quhat your opinion is anent his fute for his Title; for that is the maiter appeirently that ether shall do men great good or extreim evil; because now the King beginneth to apprehend that maiter verie

fare. This is all I can vryte to you for the present in matters of Estait. I commit your Lordship to God.

Your Lordships as his awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From the Holyrudhouse,
this 10th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING AND HONOURABLE FRIEND,
MR ARCH. DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE
OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, I refaveit your letter, and am sorry to persave thingis fall furthe as thay do. All the evil affectit to the good quyettnefs betweene the realmes studiis now to tak occasion to divert his Majestie, and not only to divert him, but to animat him, as you may persave by this earnest dealing; and I pray you, befor I enter into any forder discours, that ye be a verie great dealer for hir, for no uther vay is there to content the King. He apprehends the maiter so vehemently, and has commandit me to vryte to you, that ye deal directly in that maiter, for he says he vil not diffimull in it himself. Now to let you know quhat order his Majestie has takin upon sight of your last letters and Villam Keythis, first, he has vrottin to you vithe his awin hand a few lynes, as ye shall refave, the rest he has remittit to me. Becaus that he sent Villam Keythe away in a haste, and that both his opinion and yours was, that some nobleman should be send thair, his Majestie is fully resolvit to send a Nobleman and two of his Counfell. As yet skairfly can he resolve vhom to send, but he has dealt with the Earle Bothwell, and vith myself verie urgently. The Earle, if moyen be found, vil accept it. For my self, I have as yet refusid; bot becaus the

¹ From MURDIN'S *State Papers*, p. 573, where it is printed from the original.

King tuk it evil, I have takin me til advyfe; so having advyfit, I have laid the good and evil of both the pairtis so far as I can, and judge ye of them. Refuse I, the King shall think I know already quhat shall come of thingis; so that if she die, he shall not feal to quarrell me for it. Leive she, I shall haue double harme. Refuse I not, but interpryfe the voyage, if she die, men shall think I have lent her a hand, so that I shall leive under that slander; and leive she be my travail, I bring a staff to my awin head, or at the least shall have little thanks. Yit if I cannot escheu, rather or I fustein the Kings vrathe, I mynd to accept the commissioun; and if she die, the uther two shall bear vitnefs I have done my deutie. Seeing this maiter comeis one this—I would fain the Queen and hir Counsell would devyfe some middis, for, by God, the maiter is hard to you and me bothe. For as I vrot to you by my last, the King thinks ye nicht have done more in that maiter. So far to content him, first, vryt your ample purgation; nixt deal freely, come of it quhat so may, and I hope it shall turn to your veil. I have vrottin heir a letter to the Queens Majestie, quhereof I fend a copie. To be plain with you, it was the Kings mynd I should do so, to the end she should not tak my coming in evil pairt, in case I come. And I protest before God, I undertak that voyage for to see what good I can do, to mak some middis, becaus I see the King wholly myndit to run a uther course, if violence be usit, which I know shall be my vrak, being so far imbarkit that vay that skairfly can I retire myself. And for your self, it is true, ye have thair moyens, bot keip your compt, if his Majestie steir a uther course, you shall die a banifit man. Ye know how mortell all Princes are, so it is good to remember of home; and this is my ground I keip, for that I see men, and chiefly your enemies and myn both, to be bisie at this occasion to divert his Majestie from his present course, knowing thairby to herme us both. I mynd to interpryfe the voyage rather than to refuse, to the end I may see if some good middis may be takin for the Queens furetie of that realme, and all honest manis, and for the contentment of this Prince our Sovereine. In this mid tyme, I pray you, seeing you may see it to be veil for your self, that before my coming, you deal quickly in it, and dally not. I vill be thus plainly with you: see I no middis, bot that all shall brak

between this Princes, I vil feik the longest lyf, and follow my Master directly and sincerely. Bot first, or I cast myself in that hazard, I will exonor myself of my deutie in effeying if some good moyen may be found to the contentment of the Princes, to the veil of both realmes, and for intertaining the maiter now professit, which in my opinion shall be dresfit by a capitulation, and to the Queen of Englands contentment. I pray you do quhat you can to mak maiters abyde our coming. I have bein heir verie plaine, and plainer than reason vould, in respect of the vay I fend them. As for any bruitis or reportis maid of you unto me, ye shall know them all at meiting; and if I meit not with you, the Laird of Restabris [Restalrig?] shall be at you, who shall shau you them. In the mid tyme, tak no opinion or apprehensions, for asshur you ye shall do me great wrong befor I trust it, and my eise and understanding shall be my informers. If I vould have left you, I had better occasion than now, and has for your cause sufficient over many manis evil villis, vithout reason, to trust. Bot all this to meiting, or Restabris coming to you. I pray you oneis agene, seeing so far this maiter is lyk to tutche me, if the King change course, that ye deal for some good middis before I come, and vith the first commoditie feal not to fend me your opinion, for ye have myn freely, as God is my vitnes. I pray you, as I vrot of before, to gaine that young man Villam Keythe, for he may do good, and I perfaue he vrytis reasonably veil of you, at the least to me, and to the King himself; yit the King hes a vehement suspition, which satiffie, I pray you, in your next. Ye shall find great comfort at my coming, or yit at Restabris coming. Deal, I pray you, both by yourself, and assist Villam Keythe, for a continuation of any execution agenst the Kingis Mother. I think it not impertinent ye deal freely in this maiter with the Queen and Mr Secretary, and also with my Lord Thesaurer, and let them know the verie simple veritie, for in my judgment thay love to be in friendship vith the King. I commit you to God.

Yours as your awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

This 27th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS TYRIE.¹

THOMAS TYRIE, I receavit your letter, bot, for by it I understand ye are not now in England, I forbeare to make any answere till it; only I fend youe theise few lynes to let youe know quhat resolucion þe King hes taken anent þe Queen his Mother, uppon fyght of William Keythis letteris, which he hes don in great suddenty. Respecting þe weightines of þe cause, he hathe only at this tyme written to William Keyth, to see if he can protract tyme for a short space, to the end some honorable Ambassade be sent to þe Queen of England, for þe effect aforesaid. To þe which Ambassade, he preassed my self, but, at the furst, I refused, which his Majesty took in no good part, so þat now I have condescended, alwayes condicionally, þat tuo of the Queenis especiall frends accompany me. For I was ever in feare, if her lyfe had been tane, þat men should have thought me an especiall occasion of it, and that made me chuse the Earle Bothwell and Sir William [Robert] Melvill, who favors her. And I protest, before God and þe World both, they shall see me do my duty honestly.² If the Earle Bothwell be as ready as Sir William [Robert] and I, we shall be gon within eight daies. Therefore faile not, but ye meet me at London so soon as is possible to youe, and bring with youe any thing þat youe know propre for me, so farre as your money extendis; but all black, as feathers, hatt, and filk thanks, &c.

¹ From a copy, HARLEIAN MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 290, fol. 169. There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written towards the end of Nov. 1586.

² Bothwell was, however, excluded from the embassy, "by the drifte, it was thought, of the Master of Grayes and Archebalde Douglase knowinge the said Earle to be prompt and free of speech, and affectionate to the Queene of Scottis, and such a one, as would not, yf he discovered any of the trecheries, which moste suspected by him, conceale it."—*Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 22.

INSTRUCTIONS BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY AND SIR
ROBERT MELVILL, AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.¹

INSTRUCTIONS to our trustie Cousin and Counsellour, Patrick Maister of Gray, Comendatour of Dumfermling, and Sir Robert Meluill of Murdocarnie, Knight, our Treasurer deputye, our Ambassadors directed by us, with advise of our Estate, to our dearest sifter and cousin the Queene of England. From Holyrudhous, the xvijth December, 1586.

HEE shall in our name signifye to our dearest sifter, the Queene of England, that we mervell not a little of the late proposterous and strange proceedings against the Queen, our dearest Mother, who, beeing a Souveraigne princes, and in all degrees of the best blood in Europe, hes beene by subjects judged, ay in life and tyle;—a dangerouse president for all princes, and without any approved example in any age or kingdome, and so contrarious to our honor, and hardly could any thing have fallen out so prejudicial thereunto.

Wee doubt not but our sayd dearest sifter hath beene sufficiently advertised, how the restraint of our dearest Mother hath beene uncomlie interpreted, she being the prince in the world who was neere unto her, both in blood and vicinitie, haveing reposed her cheife worldly apperance in her amity, often confirmed by many freindly promises, and, by her advise and perswading, dimitted the government of this realme; and, in her greatest extremity, had her refuge unto her, *tanquam ad sacram anchoram*, looking for nothing lesse then captivity or imprisonment; but that, *jura sanguinis, gentium, et hospitii, quæ semper sacrosancta sunt habita*, sould have availed alsmekill at her hands, as could have beene expected of a generous and pitifull prince, nere cousin, and kindly assured freind. And thoughe her restraint was by the most part thoughte strange, yet it

¹ HARLEIAN MSS. No. 1579, fol. 75.

would have beene construed by many to the better parte, if this more strange proceeding had not ensued.

Hee shall desire our said dearest sister to consider advisedly, how all men may conceive of so uncouth and rare a forme, so repougnant to the immediate supremacie graunted by God to soveraigne princes; whose holy ordinance will not admit the sacred diademe to bee profained, nor his hier power in any his anointed bee subject to inferiors, nor thaire lawes, crownes, nor kingdomes, to be judged or disposed uppon, at the appetite of subjects; and that procedure may be thouchte mair strange, that be na lawe, spetiallye within this Ile, verry subjects felfs may be judged otherwife, but by the most parte theire peeris, and of equall rank and estate.

Hee shall alsoe declare unto our said dearest sister, that haveing made speciall choyce of her amitie, and in affections preferred her till all others, and with the losse of our nearest and well affected freindis, continued in all fenceritye towards her, omitting noe parte of a well devoted freind and brother, wee did alwayes expect, and by good desert have merited, the like correspondency and kindnesse on her parte, whereby shee might have beene moved to a freindly consideracioun, how far such proceedings might concerne us, as well in honour as otherwayes, and to have absteyned from all things importing our dishonour or prejudice.

Hee shall desire our dearest sister to consider, what construccion has beene made of this pretendit partes, and what privitie this same may bee thought of our foe secret amitye foe lately contracted, noe parte of the said pretended protection haveing at any tyme beene imparted unto noe other, by letter or messaige, but they have detected, without our knowledge or privitie, notwithstanding the speciall interest we had therein, so well knowne to herselfe, and the sincere observacions of our foe strait freindship could not permitt nothinge to be over seene or neglected, in a matter of so greate weight; and if the same had been tymely signified unto us, wee should have foe satysfied her in honour and secretie for them both, that shee should not have needed to have recourse to any foe dangerous remedie, and hard effects, as are likely to fall out.

Hee shall expound to our dearest sister, what just greife wee haue had of the rigor intended against our dearest Mother, and that no

thinge in the world is more dear unto us then herselfe and life, by whom wee received life; what duty wee owe unto her, both by the inuiolable law of God, and streaitest bond of nature betweene us; and wee would rather yeeld our owne life then offend in a pointe foe carefully recommended by God, and foe highly touching us in honour; hartily desiring her to enter into deep consideracion, what becometh us of duety and nature, and what shee herselfe would do being in our place. Hee shall therefore most earnestly deale with her, and in our behalfe intercede with all instance, that our said dearest Mothers life, alwayes foe deare unto us, may bee spared, that wee may thereby have occasion the better to continue in our present deuotions towards our said dearest sister, and reape this fruite of our desires and expectations. Remonstrating therewithal what a blemish it would be to her reputacion to deuoid so far from her accustomed clemency, and naturally mildnesse of her sexe, as imbrew herselfe into her owne blood, by taking the life of her nearest cousin, beinge alsoe of the like calling and sexe to herselfe; besides the iust discontentment of many great Princes, who may bee moved thereby, and diuers other inconueniencies, that such rigor may breed, which will not impart that security to her owne person and estate that some would perswade her may bee confirmed by extremitie.

If it shalbe objected unto you, that the preservacion of our dearest Motheris life carries with it any apparent danger to our dearest sister the Queen of England—for albeit, our said dearest Mother may be kept under restraint, and perhaps stayed from practising moyen and intelligence, yet that wilbe but gayning tyme unto her, and nather her own esperance, nor the hope of her partisans, thereby removed, who, for preferment, revenge, or pretended religion, ar about to conspire against our sayd dearest sister, but wilbee still lying in waite, attending opportunity and occasions to attein unto their designes—you may answer, her dealing and allegeit attempts (giff ony have beene) seemis to have proceeded of a dispaire our said dearest Mother had conceived, by long and streight imprisonment, and a womanly feare, deeply apprehending danger of her life; and, (as all captives naturally reclaiming liberty, has solisited for liberty), foe as shee might move, and hes beene recommended by some of a contrary opi-

nion and disposicion of our said dearest sister, to shunne her perill, and seek her de ivery: The most fitt and sure expedient for the indempnitie of our said dearest sister and estett of this realme, shalbe by putting her to libertie, out of the realme of England, upon security and joynt obligations of the Princes of her kin, freindshippe and alyance, that nothing shalbee directly or indirectly attempted by her, or any of her adherents or favorites, against our dearest sister or her estate; foe shall both will and power to annoy be removed, and the cause ceasing, foe shall the effect.

If it shalbee objected, that the sparing of our dearest Motheris life shall breed perill to the true Christian religion and professors thereof, ye may answer, It must needs produce the very contrary effect, and cheifely within this Ile: For that such as indeede meene the subvercion of the true religion, would ayde themselves in their enterprises, by practising quarrell for her restraint and danger, and for her respect, like to bee assisted by her favorites within this Ile, quhilk they account their most important forte, if our dearest Mothers death might bee procured in any forte. So by her preservation and liberty, their quarrell and cheife injury shalbee removed, and, consequently, more security of religion and quiet to the whole Ile insfew; and bee the contrary, by her death, a more just quarrell may bee thereby pretended, and they and their adherents and favorites more eagerly incenced to a more cruell desire of revenge, wherein they would assure themselves of our ayde and concurrence, who haue the cheife interest and shame by her death.

If it bee objected, that the preservation of our dearest Motheris life, after the pretended condemnacion, will either argue the indignitie of the sentence, or a feare in our dearest sister, whereby she is moved to absteyne from putting the same to further execution, ye may answer, It will breed fayme, prais, and imortal glory to our said dearest sisteris name, for her prudency, mildenes, and naturall clemency, proceeding onely of her owne accorde, beside and against the advise and deliberacion of them who, seeking her blood to settle her estate, gives occasion of greater unquietnes thereunto, and will breed to her a number of enemys, and common misreporte. And if our dearest Motheris life bee taken, it will plainly

appeare to proceede of feare and paffions, and bee demed of all men *potius vindicta quam iustitia*.

If the danger of the affociates bee opponit, ye may answer, *functi sunt officio*. And thouche our sayd dearest Mother, being alway alive, may be thoughte formidable unto them, shee shalbee altogether gained by the clemency of our said dearest sifter, what with so great praise as shee shall acquire thereby, and fuertie of her persone, wee will assure they will prefer to their particulare dreid our oune future event, spetially by occasion of her, who, by nature, cannot have long continuance.

If it bee objected, that by her death factions, and such as carrye bouldned hartes, shall lacke one head on whom to depende, ye may answer, Her deathe, by likelyhood, will rather increafe then terrifie, and rather stirr upp then quenche factions, and move and inflame then fettle and mittigate boldned hartes. And if force or factions doe remaine, it wilbee easie for them to finde a conductor, more to bee doubted, then an afflicted woman, of unfound health and weak and diseased body, who, uppon present security and sure capitulacions, being out of the realme of England, is no wayes to be feared, and appearantly will haue no desire, nor possible no power to anoye.

He shall also informe our dearest sifter, *quæ sunt nobis undique angustiae, et quam ancipiti distrahimur*, our naturall deutie and honour pressing us on the one parte, and the care we have of our said dearest sifter, to whom wee are entirely devoted, on the t'other, and above all, our zeale to trewe religion, whereupon both our states are settled; alsoe our said dearest sifteris persone and estate, by all likelyhood, may be put in full security, by joynt and generall bands, obligacions, and pledges of such Princes as will interpone their faith and security with our dearest Mother, that shee beeing delivered to any who wilbee alwayes answerable, upon his faith and perill of the hostages, that she shall, neither directly nor indirectly, deale, practise, nor attempte against our said dearest sifteris person and estate. Soe, although shee would violatt her faith, and forfeit the benefites of her liberty and life, yet wee cannot suspect shee will, beeing deprived of all force and money, and

lacking the assistance and good will of those from whom shee expected the greatest ayde, and all best affected unto her, shee shalbee able to doe no harme of herself, and shall incurr the wrath of all such as has been kinde, and given their faith and estates for her; and unquestionably our dearest susteris person shalbe in security, and her realme free from practises and attemptacions, and all the dangerous designes prevented, of such as effect the change of religion within this Ile.

If none of all these perswading argumentis be thought sufficient, ye shall, with all instance, presse our dearest suster to set downe, by advise of her wisest and best affected Councillours, such forme of security as shee and they shall thinke sufficient, or possible, or conveniently may be advised, whereunto wee will not onely yeeld for our selfe, but also to our best endeavour to obtaine the performance thereof of all others, with whom shee will capitulate in this behalfe; protesting before God, the life of our dearest suster is no less deare unto us, in all respects, then the life of our dearest Mother, or our owne.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREIND, MR ARCH.
DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOT-
LAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, I mett a pacquet of yours yesterday at four in the morning at Verderbie, containing an answer of that I send by Restabris, [Restalrig?] bot all I remit to meiting. For my awin pairt, I assure you, I am as you left me. Marie, to one pairt of your letter, I must answer, quhere ye say that I use threatning, if the Queen of Scotlands lyf was taken, that ye would dea a banisfit man; by my treuthe, I use it as no threatning, but advertised you quhat the King sayd; and in that same letter I wrot to you quhat ves spoken of my self, so that if it ves a threatning, I threatnit my self in lyk manner. Now, Sir, I am come heir at his Majesties command, I

¹ From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 575.

fweir unto you, agenst my vil, durst I have sayd nay. For that I am to abyde Sir Robert Melvin, who is to be at me vithin two days, for I left him at Morpeth, I mynd to stay at Vare. So that I think meitest ye and Villiam Keythe essey quhat hir Majestie thinks of it, and thereafter fend me vord, if I meit not with you, quhat is her mynd; for I have no comand to speik vith any til he be vith me, nether vil I do it, for sic reafons as ye shall know at meiting. Bot I let you know, and ye may affhur all thair, that our commission is verie honourable and modest. For my awin particular, I have vrottin to Mr Sec. Valsingham ane offre, bot becaus my tyme permittis not, I pray you to see the letter fend to him. In the mid tyme speik hardely to the Queen, that I think she has not usit me according to hir promis, seeing this is the second time she has suspected me vithout cause. Quhair she sayis, she knowis more of me nor ye do; by God, I say this fare, if she euer knew me do vrong, it ves for that I enterid forder for hir service than good reafon permittit. Bot all this to meiting, and committis you to God.

Your loving freind,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Stamford this 25th of
December, 1586.

God villing, I shall be at Vare the morrow be noon. His Majestie vrot efter me to advertise you and Villie Keythe to crave audience, quhen ye hard of Sir Robertis coming and myn, and if neid cravis it, that I should crave prefence vithout Sir Robert; bot that I vill not do vithout a verie extreim necessitie. So I pray you to let me know of all maiteres.

A MEMORIAL FOR HIS MAJESTY BY THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

It will please your Majesty, I have tho't meeter to fet down all things

¹ This and the following three articles are taken from the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland. Dr Robertson printed them from the original MSS., at that time in the collection of the late Sir Alexander Dick, and now in the possession of Sir George

as they occur, and all advertifements as they came to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec. and fent to William Keith and Mr Archibald Douglas to advertife the Queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promifed the Queen your Majefty's mother's life fhould be fpared till we were heard. The 27th, they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robert came to Vare, where they fhewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation; but, for that the difcourfe of it is fet down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will testify unto your Majefty, that William Keith hath ufed himfelf right honeftly and wifely till our coming, refpecting all circumftances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your Majefty knows already.

The 29th of Dec^r. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honeft fort it has pleased your Majefty ufe her ambaffadors; never man fent to welcome or convey us. The fame day we underftood of Mr de Bellievre his leave taking; and for that the cuftom permitted not, we fent our excufes by Mr George Young.

The 1st day of January, William Keith and his colleague, according to the cuftom, fent to crave our audience. We received the answer contained in the general letter, and could not have answer till the 6th day. What was done that day your Majefty has it in the general, yet we was not out of efperance at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

The 8th day we fpeak with the Earl of Leicefter, where our conference was, as is fet down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day faid plainly, the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prifoner was for that fhe pretended a fucceffion to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your Majefty, as ye fhall hear a little after.

The 9th day we fpeak with the French ambaffador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wife difcourfe of all his proceedings; and

Warrender of Lochend, Bart. It is evident that Dr Robertson has modernised the language, which made it desirable to collate them with the originals. Application was therefore made to Sir George Warrender; but it appears that the manuscripts have been unfortunately mislaid.

Mr de Bellievre we thanked him in your Majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this Queen, save the last point, as more largely set down by our general.

It is tho't here, and some friends of your Majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true; for since Bellievre his parting, there is a talk of this Chasteauneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and packets, which he was sending in France, for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the Queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the Queen and Earl of Leicester had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meetest: I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, for that I had been suspected by some of her Majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue, who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices. He desired me, seeing she saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute it to her, for the like she had done to himself by Naue his persuasion. I answered he should be my witness in that.

The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day. At the first, she said, a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes; I would now see your Master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your Majesty, first know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your Majesty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour, but you think to shift in that sort. I answered, we mind not to shift, but to offer from our Sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general: all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the Earl of Leicester, my Lord Admiral, and Chamberlain,

and very despitefully repeated all our offers in prefence of them all. I opened the laſt part, and ſaid, Madam, for what reſpect is it that men deal againſt your perſon or eſtate for her cauſe? She answered, becauſe they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed to me, and for that ſhe is a papift. Appearingly, ſaid I, both the cauſes may be removed. She ſaid ſhe would be glad to underſtand it. If, Madam, ſaid I, all that ſhe has of right of ſucceſſion were in the King our ſovereign's perſon, were not all hope of papifts removed? She answered, I hope ſo. Then, Madam, I think the Queen, his mother, ſhall willingly demit all her rights in his perſon. She answered, She hath no right, for ſhe is declared unhabil. Then, I ſaid, if ſhe have no right, appearingly the hope ceaſes already, ſo that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The Queen answered, But the papifts allow not our declaration. Then let it fall, ſays I, in the King's perſon by her affignation. The Earl of Leiceſter answered, She is a priſoner, how can ſhe demit? I answered, The demiffion is to her ſon, by the advice of all the friends ſhe has in Europe; and in caſe, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the Queen here away, who ſhall party with her to prove the demiffion or affignation to be ineffectual, her Son being oppoſite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his Maſteſty of before. The Queen made as ſhe could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Robert opened the matter again; ſhe yet made as though ſhe underſtood not. So the Earl of Leiceſter answered, that our meaning was, that the King ſhould be put in his Mother's place. Is it ſo, the Queen answered, then I put myſelf in a worſe caſe than of before: By God's paſſion, that were to cut my own throat; and, for a dutchy or an earldom to yourſelf, you or ſuch as you would cauſe ſome of your desperate knaves kill me: No, by God, he ſhall never be in that place. I answered, He craves nothing of your Maſteſty, but only of his Mother. The Earl of Leiceſter answered, that were to make him party to the Queen my miſtreſs. I ſaid, he will be far more party, if he be in her place through her death. She would ſtay no longer, but ſaid ſhe would not have a worſe in his Mother's place; and ſaid, Tell your King what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head ſince he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now ſtands between us, and if he break it ſhall be a double fault: and with this

brother is taken here. Always it has done this harm in our negociation, that all this council would not move this Queen to meddle with the Queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the inclosed. We minded to have sent to his Majesty a discourse, which we have set down of all our proceedings since our hither coming; but we are surely advertized that the bearer is to be trussed by the way for our packets, so that we defer it till our own coming: this I have put in a privy part beside the packet. We shall, I think, take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our instructions, for it cannot stand with the King's honour that we say less than the French ambassador, which was, *Le Roy mon maitre ne peult moins faire que se resentir*. So that about the 24th I think we shall, God willing, be at home, except that some stay come which we look not for. The Queen and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me. I refused save in presence of my colleagues, by reason I see a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cause. It will please your Lordship retire the inclosed from his Majesty and keep it. So, after my service commended to yourself and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London, the 12th of Jan. 1586.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

It may please your Majesty, since the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her Majesty appeared to take our overtures in good part in presence of her Council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken resolution to proceed with extremity. Not the less, it pleased her Majesty to desire us to stay for two days on taking our leave, until she had advised upon our propositions; since which time, her Majesty is become more hard by some letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making some hope to believe that your Majesty takes not

this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her Majesty's mind, which by sinister information was credited. Their reports has hindered our commission, and abused this Queen, fearing in like manner we shall be stayed until answer come from Scotland by such person as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your Majesty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occasion so persuaded the Queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As also Alchinder Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit than I believe he may perform; and we willed him to desist from this dealing, saying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpose, remitting to your Majesty's good discretion to take order herein; as we shall be answerable to your Majesty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the Master of Graye has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in these parts who were of before his friends. We have been beholding to the menstrals who has born us best company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he had in charge. As for Mr Archibald, he has promised at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he shall find true report made to your Majesty. Craving pardon of your Majesty that I have been so tedious, after I have kissed your Majesty's hand, I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your Majesty many good days and happy, in whose protection I commit your Majesty. At London, the 26th of Jan. 1586.

SIR, Albeit Master George¹ has not been in commission, he is not inferior in his service to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your service, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

¹ Mr George Young.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY AND
SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

PLEASE it your Majesty, in the last audience we had, since our last advertisement by William Murray, we find her Majesty at the refusing our offers something mitigated, and inclined to consider more deeply of them. Before we got leave, at our reasoning, certain of the council, namely, my Lord Leicester, Sir Christopher Haton, my Lord Hunfdon, and my Lord Hawart, being present in the chamber, gave little show of any great contentment to have her from her former resolution, now cast in perplexitie what she should do; always we left her in that state, and since have daily pressed conference with the whole Council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave. The greatest hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto, is a persuasion they have here, that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it; which, when with great difficulty we had expugnit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found some place of credit with them in our contrare. So that resolving now to clear them of that doubt by a special message, they have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highness's meaning in it, and to persuade your Majesty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can say out unto him is able to divert him; he has given out that he has credit with your Majesty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your Highness's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your Majesty will not oversee the great disgrace that his attempts shall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard; and if so be that any other be directed, (as our intelligence gives us there shall), our humble suit is to your Majesty, that it may please your Highness to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her Majesty, before that they find accidence. The causes whereof remitting to our private letters, we commit your Majesty for the present to God's eternal protection. From London, this 21st of Jan. 1586.

NOTES OF A LETTER TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

WONDERS King James 6. should take so hainously þe death of his Mother, as to meditate revenge, being contrary to his interest and wisdom. First, þe quarrel being unjust, and no suceffe can be expected in such a case; þat sentence being thought necessary for the Queenis safety and þat of þe land, he opposes himself to þe judgement of God, whose ministers they were in giving that sentence. Scotland not able to make head against England, it being stronger, and þe former weaker, by þe want of þe assistance of France, who are not so fond of þe old allies since England has lost its footing in France. Assistance from oþer foreign Princes not much to be depended upon, both being tedious, small, and uncertain, as the experience of þe Kingis Mother may discover. England need not fear all the attempts if attacked, which, by the conjunction of Holland and Zealand, has gott such strength by sea; and if þe King should invade England and be defeated, taken prisoner, this realm, so provoked, may disable him from þe Succession, as by law they may; oþerwise if he behave himself with þat moderation þat becomes a Prince of his perfections and education, which is also necessary in this remedylefs accident, and by this kindness to Queen Elizabeth, who has so well deserved at his hands, he will win þe hearts of þe whole kingdom. If war should ensue, (now in a manner extinct), þe old quarrels and animosity would be revived to þat degree, þat þe English would never accept him for their Prince, but especially þe nobility would be irreconcilable, by whose sentence Queen Mary suffered, and would never suffer a Prince to rule over þem whom they have reason to fear would call þer Honours lives in question. Besides, þer are but two potentates upon whom he can depend for assistance to take present possession of þe crown, viz. France and Spain; and who would advise him to apply to eþer of them, discover both want of fidelity and

¹ SLOANE MSS. in Brit. Museum, No. 3199, art. 65, p. 112.

judgement: And it is not politick to trust to those who will be jealous of his greatness, as a hindrance to her defyes and designs, which is the case unto those 2 Princes who are enemies of King James religion, seeing that bred a difficulty in his Mothers negotiations, and were only favorable because they hoped that she, being at liberty, by her wisdom, might convert him; if that did not succeed, the King of Spain was to be her heir; how much more will they be jealous of him, who is a man, and more powerfull, by the union of the two Crowns? It is contrary to the interest of France to strengthen and make more powerfull a King of England, who by so doing may be the more able to dispute his title to France itself; the French King will with great difficulty be brought to engage in a foreign war, *it being well known that that King, against his will, was engaged in the Civill war by those of the House of Guise, for the which he has good cause to complain*, whatsoever shew he makes. No doubt he hateth them, and wishes them confusion in heart. And if the French, by a pretext of King James quarrel, transport the war out of their own country into this island, King James would only be used as an instrument to serve a turn, as his predecessors heretofore have been, to the effusion of much Scotch blood, and the spoil of that realm. Neither is it the interest of the French King to advance the affairs of a king related in blood to the House of Guise, by whose assistance their design to possess that crown, and to depose the King, (a matter by him greatly doubted), may the better take effect. For the Spaniard, his age and unsettled estate should rather encline him to peace; if otherwise, his ambition cannot but be dangerous to your King his practices, his power, his colour of right; for it is well known how he had figured himself an Empire over this part of the world, what plots he laid for the compassing thereof; he designed the conquest of this land in Queene Maryes time, he being then our King in right of his wife; the conquest was fully concluded afterwards under colour of Religion, and by the Prince of Orange, then of the Privy Council, was since repeated. He now pretendeth himself the first Catholick of the blood royall of England, being before reputed, though falsely, heir of the House of Lancaster, as by the pedigrees and books published by the Bishop of Ross and others in his favour, may appear. It was practised, even during the late King of Scotis life, by the Jesuits and

divers gentlemen, to advance him to þe Crown by the way of election, to þe prejudice of her and her Lord, as meetest to restore þe Roman authority both here and elsewhere, though they did not altogether think of your Masters conversion, þey were assured he would not part with þe supremacy. We may easily judge how far he would prevail of þe donation made of this Crown by the late Queen of Scots, in her letters promised to be confirmed in her last Will and Testament, whereof his Ambassador at Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, thinks not already to make open vaunt; and what herself hath practised to þat effect with her servants, since her condemnation, God knows. Lastly, being þe strongest, what should let him to dispose of þe prey as he listeth. And yet by change of his religion, he shall be able to mend þe matter is very improbable, considering þe same private respects of þeir own estates and pretentions will still remain; and for the King of Spains part, þe usurpation of þe kingdom of Portugall giveth evident proof þat his ambition cannot be restrained when he hath þe advantage, by any bonds of religion, honour, or justice; and þe simple A. . . . poor Don Antonio has received, notwithstanding he is a catholique, doth sufficiently shew what is to be hoped for, þat ought happen to your Sovereign in like case.

But contrariwise, þe Kingis revolt from religion (which God defend) is likely to be judged a want of religion raper than a change, and would be his utter overthrow, and discredit in all Christendom; for as it shall lose him his native and faithful subjects, and well willers both at home and abroad, so will it but win him hollow hearted friends, in respect þat no appearance can be had of his constancy in any religion, if it shall appear that upon stomacke he shall turn from his God and that Religion, wherein he was extraordinarily instructed; neither can he presently expect to be inheritour of his Motheris party and credit here, which, notwithstanding, was not sufficient to hold all the Catholicks of England united.

And for his honour, it is sufficiently secured, seing he mediated so earnestly for her life to þe last; but she being now executed for such gud and necessary causes, it will be more for his honour to see how he can moderate his passion by reason.

And so it is wished by all good men, both for the common good of this island, and for his own greatness every way, that he were advised, and to thank God, who hath delivered him by this means of a great burden of conscience, which otherwise must have been upon him, as at whose hands God would have looked for a revenge of his Fathers blood, so innocently and horribly spilt, by her consent and privity, not to speak of the goodness of God towards him, in establishing his throne, continually undermined by her practises; the end whereof will be, if he be well counselled, the beginning of all happenings here, instead of being sent as hostage or ward to Pope or Spanyard, as he said Quene would have made him, he may absolutely and quietly reign.¹

Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the continuance of amity and peace between ye 2 kingdoms, has carried me into a long discourse. I trust you will do all the good offices which on your part shall be possible, considering that our satisfaction in this behalf shall be joined with the service of God, your own Sovereign, and Country, which thereby shall reap the blessed fruits of peace.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

MY GUID LORD, notwithstandinge your Lordship be sufficientlie prouydit of frendschipe in your parts, and of such whom wit, moyen, and experience serves them, till informe your Lordship better of the present estate of this contrie than I, yet, newtherles, I thocht it just well be this present to make the guid will I haif to do your Lordships honour and service manifest and knowine unto your Honour, quhair of your Lordship shall haif such profit as my small walewre may extend to. I haif writtine to Mr Archibald Duglas at lenche, the warrie estate of matters at this present, quhilk I doubt not he will communicate with your Lordship: onely will I desire and foir-

¹ From the original, Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 48. This and the two following letters marked 876 †† are stated in the printed catalogue to be written by a 'Scots Intelligencer.'

warne yowir Lordship to be ware of the Secretarie, qwha traevells, be all moyen, to divest Ingland of all kynd of frindschipe in þir pairts, and be þat moyen to mak yow unaebill to do aeny thing in þis contrie by him; quhairbe, together with his graetnes with the King, he compellit France to feik his frindschipe, and sua to debaische his ennemies, and transffer þe credit of all in his owine persone; for assuritlie, if he dwrft hazarde, or saw aeny apirans, he wald nocht feis afs yeit to preis þe Kings Maiestie to goe þe Fraence cours; bot feing his Maiestie uperways affectionat, he folwis his hwmowr, to mak his profeit be all occasions, for, afs he says him self, he lipins for no gwid at þair hands, and is assurit þat þe King will be constraenit to leif that cours before ane yeir be past. For the quhilk cowrs it fall nocht be gwide, þat ye leif of yowir deling with þe Master of Gray as yeit, qwha, fens his homcwme, is graetwmlie affectionat yowir way; and alls, þat it will be no small brydill to hawld þe Secretaire in ordwr. And in respect þat þe Master dar nocht deill him self with none of yow direclie, in respect of þe evill bruit he haes incwrrit for his last deling with Inglande, it war gwide he war afs yeit delt with specialie be yowir Lordship, in qwhom he haes no small trwste, if it war bot to hawld of his will. He haes desyrit me to wreit to Mr Archibald in þis pwrpois, for wperwafs I am no ways plaen with him, þerfor sik letters as is directit to him fend þem with myn, for so haes he desyrit to be done, and I fall mak þe answeris to be delywerit to Sir Haenrie Widdrintone. He is entering at þis sam tyme in confederacie with the Erll of Huntlie, Crafwirde, Montrois, Rothes, Maxwell, and my Lord Clowde of Paesley, qwha ar all for þe moift pairt catholikis, affectionat to þe Fraence cowrs, and ennemies to þe Lords þat cam in at Stirline. The Master, afs he says to me, dois þis to paertie þe Secretarie, qwha dois þat he can for þe present to wrack him, for all þir nobill men invyfs þe Secretaries credit. Always quhaitsoever near effect þis mater fall tak, yowir Lordship fall be forsein þerwith, together with all þat Tomas Tyrie haes done in France for þe Master of Gray, quhoufone he fall cwme home, quhilk, afs þe Master is aduertisit, will be schortlie; sua þat þaer fall be nothing done heir in aenie forrein cowrsis bot yowir Lordship fall be dewlie acqwentit þerwith. He is nocht till insift diligentie with þe Kingis Maiestie, nochtwithstandine of aeny thing þat is past,

and yowir traevell will nocht be in waen, for his Maieftie will goe yowir way for aens, in fpyt of all theis þat will infist in þe contraer. My Lord Hamiltone and Boidwell ar þe graetaeft ennemies ye haif heir; bot ye haif þat awantage, þat þay are nocht ye wyfeft in þe warld. I haif newer gottine woird afs yeit from yowir Lordship, quherof I merwell. I am constraenit to mak my continwall refidens in Court, or wperwayfs I wald be improfitable in þir twrns. Remittine þe rest to yowir Lordshipis discretione, with my affectionat commendations of service to yowir Lordshipis felf, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione. From Edinbroche þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Yowir Lordships awin to be comanditt.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walsinghame,
Secretarie to the Qwins Maieftie
of Inglande.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY GWID LORDE, fens þe clofine of my letter wnto yowir Lordship, hawing founde þe Master of Gray greatwmlie alterat and chaengit of his former gwidwill and intencion professit to Inglande, afs in particwlar, he haed impairtit to myself þe nicht of befoir; qwhairat I merwelit greatwmlie, and þat in respect of his inconstante deling and fuddean mwttatione, and being werrie inquisitive to knaw and understande qwhait he haed for it, (afs in all things he is plaen with me), so did he dilaet at lenth unto me þe hoill cawfs of þis his haestie wraeithe and passionat deling, confessine to me þat he haed wretine to my Lord of Leicefter befoir his last cwmine in Inglande, and þat in maeters of aestate and graet importance, quhilk ar

¹ From the original in Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 50.

nocht neffisair to be reherfit at þis present; quhilk wreits my Lord of Leicester delywerit to Sir Alexander Stewart, to haif presentit to þe Kingis Maiestie of Scotlande, and þat for his disgrace only, afs in plaen terms he spak to Alexander, quhilk woirds he haes' nocht left unreherfit. For þe quhilkis wreits, suppois he haed his warrand of þe Kingis Maiestie, yiet þe maeter itself was fwa odiwfs, þat my Lord of Leicefter did qwhait in him laey to perrall þe Masteris lyf, standing, honwr, and reputatione for ewer; and nocht only þis, bot þe Qwins maiestie hir self communicat sik purpofis to Sir Alexander of þe Master, giffine him an exprefs commissiõne to impairt þe samings to his Maiestie, þat if Sir Alexander haed nocht disclofit þe secrecie of all þir plattis, the Master haed bein in no les parrell, þan he and all þat lwiffis him ar of aweill. Thir maeters war rewelit be Sir Alexander this Setterday, the thrid of Marche, I hawine clofit my letters þe nicht of befoir, and delywerit þem to Capitaen Carwell. I maey heir mak trew recoird of þir things, hawine hard Sir Alexander my cwfinge, and read þe Masters letters, being delywerit be Sir Alexander to þe Master; qwhairat I was not lytill abaifchite at my Lords wyfdome, qwha cwlde nocht conjectwr of þe mans naturall better, quhilk is knowine till all þe woird heir, and enters þe self in all his actions; yeit I haue infistit fua far with þe Master þat he is content till differ and superceid his jwgment of this maeter till I fulde writ to Mr Archibald, afs I promifit to his Lordship to doe. Befoir my gwid Lord, faiuane yowir Lordshipis better awyfs and opinione, it war gwid my Lord Leicefter fuld writ his excwsis to þe Master in thir things þat ar fallen out, afs I belif far by his expectatione, and þat yowir Lordship writ in þe Qwins pwrgratione, qwhairof Sir Alexander haes no prwif bot his awine sayine, quhilk is nocht with wfs werrie awtentik. Moir-ower, yowir Lordship will commwnicat þis maeter to Mr Archibald, and cawfs him writ to me afs if I haed wretine to him in þis maeter. I gif nocht my awyfs to yowir Lordship in þis maeter, but graet cawfs and mony gwid motiwes and confiderations, afs yowir Lordship fall knaw be tyme; for indeid I am aestemit participant of all his procedings, fua that if he be falline, I can nocht gwidlie stande to do yowir Lordship aeny ferwice or pleseir. Feir nocht of aeny thing þe Master can attempt agaenst yowir aesteit, for I fall be aebill to cawfs yow anticipat all his defeins, as yowir

Lordship fall haif þe prwif of my honestie, so will I howpe to be acknowlegit. I will pray yowir Lordship to cawfs returne Mr Archibalds answer of þis pwrpois to me with expeditione, togither with my Lord of Leicesters and yowir Lordships letters, if it seim expedient to yowir wifdome. I howpe schortlie till haif farder credit to do gwid officis for þe Kings Maiestie my maisters standing, and for continwing þe pæce and frindschipe betwixt the twa contris, qwhairinn I fall lack no gwidwill, sua far afs my simpill moyen may extend. Sua, hawing presentit my hwmbill commendations of service unto yowir Lordships self, I leif yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione. Frome Edinebroche, þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Your Lordships maist affectionat to be
commandit with service,

876 ††

Thaer is nichtlie cartells tint, and pasqwills affixit, agaenst the King and þe Lords of his Cownfall, prowokine him till ane rewenge of his Moperis dethe. It were best perfor pat maeters war hotlie handelit, for tym is preciws.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walsinghame,
Secretaer to the Qwines Maiestie
of Inglande.

ROBERT CARVYLE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGAAM.¹

RYGHTE HONOURABLE, my dutie remembred, these are to fertifie your

¹ From the original in the Cotton MSS. Calig C. IX. fol. 171. This letter was first published in Chalmers' *Life of Queen Mary*. It is also included in the '*Excerpta Scotica*,' 8vo., Edin. 1825, a volume of fugitive pieces relating to Scottish affairs; and again printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his collection of *Original Letters*, 8vo., 1827.

Honor, that I have bene in Scotland ever synce þe laſt of February, and coude get no diſpatche untill Monday þe fixt of this inſtant, att nyne of the clock in the mornynge; and then I receyved (att th'ands of the Secretary, whoe rulethe the Courte) a letter to Mr Carie from hym, by warrante from þe Kings Maieſtie, which was to this effecte; that he ſhowlde write that the Kinge wold receyve no Embaſſador as yet, partly by reaſon of his hevines and ſorowynge for his Mother, and alſo for that he is not reſolved that the Quenes Maieſtie is ſo ſory for his Mothers death as he was informed ſhe was; and, further, becauſe he cannot ſtaye the rigor of his people, being wickedly bent and evel geven, as I bothe hard and ſawe with myne eyes; ffor there is dayly libells ſett vpp in open ſtrete, and caſt into the pulpit, boathe ageynſt the Kinge himſelf, the Maſter of Gray, Mr Archibald Dowglas, and the preachers; and amongeſt the reſt, iiijth of this inſtant, there were two ſett vpp at my lodginge very odiouſe and deteſtable ageynſt the Quenes Maieſtie, the coppie wherof I haue ſent you here incloſed; which two I toke of, and the one I gave to the Secretary to ſhewe the Kinge, the other Mr Robert Carye hath to ſend to my Lord Chamberleyne. And truly I fynd, for all this flurr, that the Secretary is very well incliened towards her Maieſtie, and a favorer towards the mayntenaunce of peace and amitie, and the Kinge hymſelfe alſo. But towchinge the ſendinge awaye of Embaſſadors into other countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and towchinge the Maſter of Gray and his doings, your Honor ſhall heer more in Roger Aſhton his packquet: and ſo, vntill my next, I humbly take leave, comyttynge your Honour nowe and ever to the protection of th'Almightie, truſtinge you will accept my good will. Berwick, in haſt, the vjth of Marche, 1586.

Your Honours to my power,

ROBERT CARVYLE.

POSTSCRIPT.—Curcell's man ſtands faſte and firme, and is ready to be employed when I ſhall here from your Honour. It were good that the

Secretary were vfed, for he is very gret. Your Honour fhall receyve a packquet from Roger Ashtone.

To the right honorable
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,
principall Secretary to the
Quenes most excellent Maiestie.

(INCLOSURE.)

Fructe pro funere fune.

To Jesabell, that Englishe heure,
Receyue this Scottishe cheyne,
As presagies of her great malheur,
For murthering of oure Quene.

The cheyne was a litle corde off hempe tied halterwise.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY LORD, I wreit wnto yowir Lordship in my last letters, fwme purpoifs
concerning ^{the Maister of Gray} *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, qwhairof I have gottine nō anfwair
as yeit, and therfoir will suspend my jwgment of pat maeter till I heir
yowir Lordships opinione in particwlar, alwayfs (*ut candide cum amicis
agam*). Trew it is that he is becume ane werrie great ennemie to yowir
^{Quins maiestie, your contrie, and al your proceedings,}
egxco thxqomxq, kfgf nscmfqx, hcp hb kfgf dffnqpxcvo, and thinks heir-

¹ From the original in the Harleian MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 292, fol. 54. The secret writing is decyphered in another hand, written immediately above the cyphers as here given.

eter till follow fwith his first cowirs be all mins possibill, and sua to gif no
 occatione *ms maq nhmasbxyo ms txomfgom sr axt*, qwha, as yeit, haes
 no fik confidens in him as is requisit to effectwat aeny gwide twrne. For
 the qwhilk cawfs, efter matwer deliberatione, aestiming his standing to con-

fist in doing of fume notable twrne, *ms maq hghcotqcm sr maq nhmasbxy*
fqbxvxfscq, ss hbmxfhmxfscq sr maq dfqoqcm hqomqxm, he accwmpaniet
 me with his *bqmmqfo sr nfqpxm ms maq qfb sr agcmbxq; egah, lqxcv hcq*
 preeis catholik,

dfqnqxo nhmasbxy, mislyks alsua of þe presnt aesteit and gouvernement,
 and haes the hoill nobill maen of this contrie bandit togither till affist, per-

feu, and defend with him, and he with þem, in all his and thaer acteis, fik
 as *nfhrqfp tscmfxxo thfxonahb svxbgk yhqfmcqo ogmaqfbhcpq ohb-*
 toune Elfinstoune Forbes Gray,
msgcq qbrxcomsgcq rfflqo vfhk, with þe graetest pairt of owr Hiellands,
 and all the barons and contrie maen. He offerit, in his letter and be me,

to lay ane plate (hawing his assistance) *ms bqm sgf yxcv sgm sr maxf*
 maens hands, Majestie

thqco ahcpo, and so nocht only to mwif his *thxqomxq* to tak aermis agaenst
 Inglande, quhairupone libertie of conciens suld nessisarlie follou,
xcvbhcpq, egahxfgdscq bxlqfmxq sr nscnxqco ogbp cqooxohfbxq rfbbsg,

France,
 bot alsua to perfwaid him to tak jwrnay to *rfhcnq*, þat thereby all things

nicht attein to paer defyrit effectis. I traewelit with *tk bffp agcmbxq* in
 this purpois, qwha was moir þan willing þerto, and werrie cwriwfs to knaw

forme of that plate
 the *rffstq sr mahm dbhmq*; in particular promisen all kynd of assistance to
 þe forderance of the faming þat cwld be reqwryit. For the quhilk caws,
 nocht hawing þat in commissiione, he wreit bak with me letters fwill of cre-

dit to *maq thxomqf sr vfhk*, hawing promisit þat ane of his maist specialis,
 capitaeen Kar, vehement catholik,
nhdxmhqc yhf, qwha is ane *ggaqtqcm nhmasbxy*, suld haif folwit me with

expeditione, þat he and I miçht haif spokine with þe *thxomqf* at lenthe in
 þat purpois. Always at my bakcwmine maeters wais alterat, and maen
 pwt by þaer dyet, pairtly be his Maiestie rydinge wpone my Lord Max-

Secretary were vfed, for he is very gret. Your Honour fhall receyve a packquet from Roger Afhtone.

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concerning ^{the Maister of Gray} *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, qwhairof I have gottine nò anfwair
as yeit, and therfoir will fuspend my jwgment of pat maeter till I heir
yowir Lordships opinione in particwlar, always (*ut candide cum amicis
agam*). Trew it is that he is become ane werrie great ennemie to yowir
^{Quins maiestie, your contrie, and al your proceedings,}
egxco thxqom.xq, ksgf nscmf.xq, hep hb ksgf dffnqpxco, and thinks heir-

¹ From the original in the Harleian MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 292, fol. 54. The secret writing is decyphered in another hand, written immediately above the cyphers as here given.

efter till follow fwirth his first cowirs be all mins possibill, and sua to gif no
 occatione ^{to the catholiks to mistrust of him,} *mf maq nhmasbxyo mf txomfgom sr axt*, qwha, as yeit, haes
 no fik confidens in him as is requisit to effectwat aeny gwide twrne. For
 the qwhilk cawfs, efter matwer deliberatione, aestiming his standing to con-

sist in doing of fume notable twrne, ^{to the avansment of the catholik} *ms maq hghcotqcm sr maq nhmasbxy*
^{religione, or alteratione of the present aesteit,} *sqbxvscq, sf hbmqfhmxcq sr maq dfqoqcm hqomqxm*, he accwmpaniet
 me with his ^{letters of credit to the Erl of Huntlie; quha, being ane} *bqmmqfo sr nfqpxm mf maq qfb sr agcmbxq; egah, lqxcv hcq*
^{preecis catholik,} *dfqngqxo nhmasbxy*, mislyks alsua of þe present aesteit and governement,

and haes the hoill nobill maen of this contrie bandit togither till affist, per-
 feu, and defend with him, and he with þem, in all his and thaer acteis, fik

as ^{Craferd Montrois Marischal Ogilvy Kaertnes Sutherlande Sal-} *nfhrqfp tscmfso thfxonahb svxbgk yhqfmcqo ogmaqfbhpcp ohb-*
^{towne Elfinstoune Forbes Gray,} *msgcq qbrxcomsgcq rfflqo vfhk*, with þe graetefst pairt of owr Hielands,
 and all the barons and contrie maen. He offerit, in his letter and be me,

to lay ane plate (hawing his assistance) ^{to let our King out of thir} *mf bqm sgf yxcv sgm sr maxf*
^{maens hands, Majestie} *thqco ahcpo*, and so nocht only to mwif his *thxqomxq* to tak aerms agaenst

^{Inglande, quhairupone libertie of conciens suld nessisarlie follou,} *xcvbhpcp, egahxfgdscq bxlqfmq sr nscnxqco ogbp cqooxohfbxq rjbb/g,*
^{France,}

bot alsua to perswaid him to tak jwnay to *rfhcnq*, þat thereby all things

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 this purpois, qwha was moir þan willing þerto, and werrie cwiwfs to knaw

^{forme of that plate} the *rfstq sr mahm dbhmq*; in particular promisen all kynd of assistance to
 þe forderance of the faming þat culd be reqwryit. For the quhilk caws,
 nocht hawing þat in commissiione, he wreit bak with me letters fwl of cre-

^{the Maister of Gray,} dit to *maq thxomqf sr vfhk*, hawing promisit þat ane of his maist specialls,
^{capitaen Kar, vehement catholik,} *nhdxmhqc yhf*, qwha is ane *gqaqtqcm nhmasbxy*, fuld haif folwit me with

^{Maister} expeditione, þat he and I nicht haif spokine with þe *thxomqf* at lenthe in
 þat purpois. Always at my bakewmine maeters wafs alterat, and maen
 pwt by þaer dyet, pairtlie be his Maieftie rydinge wpone my Lord Max-

wall, and pairtly be the ^{Maisters} *thxomqfo p xovfhqng*, qwha haes nocht bein at
 court fens; and yeit he affuris me þat his disgracee is nothing els bot po-
 licie to pleifs the ^{Secretaer} *oqnsqmhf axo qccqtzq*, ^{his ennemie, and thir lords Angus and Mar,} *hep maxf bffpo hcvgo hep thf*,
 qwha haes alredie confaewit ane jalwſie agaenist him. The ^{Plat} *dbhm gho*,
^{that the King sould have beine drauin to Dunfermling, accompaniet} *mahm maq yxcv ofgbp ahgq lqxcq pfhgxc mf pgcrqftbxcv, hnngtdhcxqm*
^{vith sik of his auin domestiks as war for the purpois;} *gxma oxy ſr axo hgxc pſtqomxyo ho ghf rſſmaq dgfdſxo*; and ſo to haif
 perſuadit his Maieſtie to haif wretine for ^{my lord of Huntlie,} *tk bffp ſr agcmbxq*, qwha fulde
 haif beine with all his forcis alredie cwming fordwarthe for þat effect, ſua
^{the King} þat *maq yxcv* fuld newer haif knowine the weritie of þat interpryſs qwhill
 the twrne haed bein doing, and maeters ſatlit, bwt ony hazarde or daenger
^{his Majesties auin persone;} of *axo thxqomxgo hgxc dqfoſcq*; qwhilk, bwt dowl, compellis him to tem-
 porriſs farder with þir lords þat ar about him, þan wþerwayſs he wald doe ;
 for hawine diſcuwerit ſik attempts of ^{the Erl of Huntlie,} *maq qfb ſr agcmbxq*, and wþeris,
 maide his Maieſtie ſoircein, and þat, aſs is ſupponit, rether by ^{feir faci-} *rqxf rhnx-*
^{letie or craft,} *bqmxq ſſ nfhrm*, they think it nocht nidfwll þat his Maieſtie be in aeny
 wayſs forrein of thaer proceiding, being affurit to haif his fawoir and gwid
 will qwhainſoewer thaer conſpiracies fall be effectwat. ^{My Lord of Huntlie} *tk bffp ſr agcmbxq*
 at his goine to court, the xx day of Apryll, wafſ ſtaeyit be ane chaerge of
 the Kings maieſtie; and yeit cam fordwart wpone the affurance of ane
^{letter of his Majestis prively convoyit to him, ane} *bqmmqf ſr axo thxqomxgo dſxgqbk nſcgſkxm mf axt*, qwhair he was *hcq*
^{nicht be the vay in Dunfermling vith the Maister of Gray,} *cxnam lq maq ghk xc pgcrqftbxcv gxma maq thxomqf ſr vſhk*, and ſwld
 be þaer in his Lordſhips bakcumine; at qwhait tym ſwll reſolwtione will be
 taen of all pwrpoifes beſur ſpecifiſet. Wpon þaer reſolwtione, I fall nocht
 feill till adwertis yowir Lordſhip in haefſt, togither with ony wther thing of
 importance þat fall occwr in þis meintyme. There is graet appirance of ane
 alteratione at þis preſent, and þat in reſpect of the graet miſcontentment,
 togither with his Maieſtie is wpone þe point to pas his yeirs of rewoca-
 tione. Qwhaitfuewer the King haes done aſs yeit with France, the Catho-

likes heir haes no howpe of it. The ^{Secretar} ^{puts} ^{the} ^{laerd} ^{of} ^{Fintrie} *oqnfqmhf dgmo maq bhqfp sr rxcmfq*
 in ane graet opinione þat he fall mwif ^{the} ^{King} ^{to} ^{goe} ^{the} ^{Fraence} *maq yaxv mf vsq maq rfhqcnq*
^{cours,} *nsgrfo*, be ye quhilk affurance ^{Fintrie} *rxcmfxq* did qwhait he cwld to haif renewit
 þe frindschipe twixt þem, quhilk wafs nocht effectwat. ^{Fintrie} *rxcmfxq* wreit into
 France in þe faid ^{Secretars} ^{favors} ^{to} ^{the} ^{Bischope} ^{of} ^{Glasgu} *oqnfqmhfo rhgffo mf maq lxonafxdq sr vbhovg* and
 wperis, bot his letters war interceptit, and he haed in þe laes aestimatiōne
 in respect of his ower graet simplicitie. Remitting þe rest to yowir Lord-
 ships discretione and answeir, hawing my hwmble dewtie rememberit unto
 yowir Lordship, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione, the
 xxvj of Apryll, 1587.

Jowir Lordships awine to be commanditt
 with fervice,

876 ††

To my verrie gwid Lord,
 Sir Francis Walsinghame,
 Secretarie to the Qwins Majestie
 of Inglande.

SIR HENRY WEDDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

.

 the convoe of y . .
 and the xijth he returned to
 towne, and brought no answere of those letteris, because the tyme was not
 convenient nor the [King] and Counsell at leasure; for that upon the xth

¹ Cott. MSS. Caligula. D. 1, fo. 206. Unfortunately the volume of MSS. marked Calig. D. 1, is very imperfect, being so much injured by fire as in many places to be illegible. The words within brackets are conjectural readings.

of this instant the Master of Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought before the King and Counsell, wher the Master was an hower and a half in seeret conference with the King, and the [King], comynge from the Master of Graye, called all the Counsell and the noblemen together; where both the Master [of] Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought face to face before the King and Counsell and whole nobilitye, where Sir William Stewarde accused him of certen points of treason. [One] was, that he pretended to have slaine the Lord Secretarie, wherby the Court might have bene changed, and the King delivered to the northern Lordis; an other, that he wrote a letter seeretlye to her Maiestie, that if she determynd to execute the Quene, pat it myght be done closely and qu[ietly]; and finallye, that all his proceedings were un . . . diffimulacion with his Maiestie; and that the Earl of Huntley and the Lord Claude were of the [partie] with the Master for the killinge of the Lord Secretar: Who chardged him before the King that he lyed falselye, or any other that would take his parte, to avouche that matter of the [murder], and that if he had bene sufficient invocat, they would have proved themselves upon him; chardging him he was ever accompted no[thing] but a liar and murderer himself.

And since they were noe other would witnesse with him . . .

 who was his informer and . . .
 said George was brought in, and . . .
 he had informed Sir William Stewarde of any . . .
 who flatlye answered he lyed, and said that . . .
 beinge as good a gentleman as he ever was, he would prove it uppon hym that he fa[lsely] belyed him. So that Sir William Stewarde has greatlye discredited himself.

The King seameth to be greatlye displeased with the Master of Graye, and hath given him [in charge] to the Earle Huntley. And if the Lordis had not stode well with the Master, yt is thought the King would have stricke of his heade.

The Master of Gray was carryed to Edenburgh castle to pryson againe that night, as [was] Sir William lykewife.

There examinacion the first day contynewit from twoe in th'afternoone till 9 at night; and the next day following thei were to be brought before the King, Counsell, and Lords againe.

For the next dayes proceeding, as yet I heare not further of yt, but by the next your Honour shall understand more at lardge of [the] wholle proceedings, as I shall receave inte[lligence].

The wholle nobylitie is in Courte at the and have bene ever fence the ij of this monthe, save only th'erle of Anguishe, who is not but the for the that the K. myndeth from him.

And so for this tyme I remyt your Honour to the protection of th'Almighty. Burwik, the xijth of Maye, 1587.

Your Honours most humble,

HENRY WEDDRYNGTON, K.

To the Right Honourable
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,
principall Se[cretary] to her Maiestie,
and [one of her] Highnis most
Honourable Privie Counsell.

INDICTMENT AGAINST PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, MAY 23, 1587.¹

COMPERIT Mr David M^cGill of Nisbet, Aduocat to our Souerane lord,

¹ From PITCAIRN'S Ancient Criminal Trials, Vol. I. Part 3, p. 157.

and produceit the Dittay after specefeit, and defyrit proces; of the quhilk the tenour followis.

Dittay against the Maister of Gray.

PATRIK MAISTER OF GRAY, Ze ar indytit and accusit, that ze haif laitle, within þe space of þis zeir bypast writtin, delt and travellit to France for findrie materis preiudiciall to þe Religioune presentlie profest be our Souerane lord and his subiectis; and therefore, to haif had libertie of conscience, or otherwyis to fy [fay] forme of Religioune, to haif bene vfit att ewerie manis awin appittite within þe realme; incontrair þe tennour of þe Actis of Parliament; incurrand pairthrow the panis contenit in þe famin. *Secundlie*, Indytit and accusit, that during þe tyme foirfaid, he hes intendit to deill with sum personis in France, that be pair moyane, throw his informacioun, our Soueranis mariage with þe King of Denmarkis dochtir (being ane deed honest and lauchfull in presens of God and men) mycht haif bene stayit; takand thairthrow vpoun him, without ony warand, forder thane becumit ane subiect of his dewtie to haif done; specialle, in that his intentioune tendit to þe hindrance of þe Kingis mariage, being ane act proffitabill to þe commoun welth of þis realme. *Thryddie*, Indytit and accusit, for þe vndewtifull wryting of lettres, concerning the estait of his Maiestie and þe realme, in Ingland; without his Maiesties knowledge or command; thairthrow exceding far þe dewtie of ane subiect. *Ferdlie*, Indytit, that he hes travellit in materis quhilk mycht haif destroyit the estait of þis realme; quhilk trawell, gif it had tane effect, his Maiesteis person mycht haif bene indangerit, committing pairthrow the cryme of Treffoune. *Fyftlie*, Indytit, for counterfitting of þe Kingis stamp,¹ and putting of the famin to ane letter writtin with his Maiesteis awin hand, without his command or auctoritie to do þe famin; and siclyke, for retening and keping of þe famin stamp in his handis. *Saxthie*, Indytit for diuers and findrie vtheris offences and crymes of Treffoun, alreddie declarit and confest be him to his Maiesteis self; quhair of he is giltie; quhilk he can nocht deny. Lyke as, the haill pointis of Dittay

¹ A *caschet* or stamp, bearing a fac-simile of the King's signature.

aboue writtin ar of veritie, as he can nocht deny þe famin, nor na pairt pairrof.

The said Patrik Maister of Gray offerit himselff and become in oure Souerane lordis will and mercie for the saidis crymes.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

My gud Lord Hamiltone hes heme haertlie comendit to your Lordship, for he cane nocht meruell of your lang stay: trewlie ye hewe heme als fare to do yow freindschip as ye hewe any mane in the world. His Maiestie hes takin deliberatione to ryd is ordenit for theme is extirpatione. This day his Maiestie beginnis and wowis to God, nocht to ly ane nicht quher he is ane vthere, till they be all baniscit Scotland gif you ver to mak speid, I think yeit ye fall try and in tyme first is to be pute to the vill ouer pafs I think als mikill as fall ferfe for yowr returne befor ferrar be med in the north. I veis ye vere heir agane, thene, in caece ye ver veriet, ye nicht tak repofs in your awin houfs of Dunfermling. Bring all the horfs vith yow ye cane purches, for they ar meruelus skant heir. His Maiestie is meruelus weill plaesit vith my Lord Hewme. I hewe no regret bot of my Lord Bothuell. I trust ye salbe the first mane to procure his pardone, albeit, in trewth, he hes done yow some wrang at this tyme, yeit vithin thife fewe dayis he hes gifen me assurans be his letter, that his doing vith the Erll of Huntlie is rather for your veill nor eny vther respek in the world, in so fare that my Lord Huntlie wilbe als glaed to gif yow your awin as ye vold be to refewe it: quhen euir my Lord Huntlie think, I know it to be trew that my Lord Bothuell hes this promiss of heme. He hes, at fundrie tymes, spokin verie fauorable to myself in this saime mater, bot, thankis to God, ve fall nocht now be so fare in

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1. art. 176, fo. 364. James Gray was the brother of the Master. He was for some time one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. The date of the year in James Gray's letters is wanting; but the circumstances they relate, particularly the King's surprise at Halton, show that they were written in 1589.

his [pouer]. As for me, I proteſt before God, he mycht a gifin faere vords to heme: he mycht a perſuadit more effellie to beleif theme nor me, for he hes comit to his litill bok no litill falſate. For God ſaek mak ſpeid in your cuming. God be vith yow one horſbak in gryte haeft, this morning the xj of Apprylle, [1589].

J. GRAY.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY LORD, I reſauit your Lordſhips letters, being vith my Lord Hewme in hyg intentione to hewe ſtayit his reſolutione tuiching his preſent parting of the cu[ntrie] to the tyme ve had hard farder from your Lordſhip; quherin his Lordſhip, as in all the offers conſerning your veill, hes ſchewin heme ſelf moſt lowing and ry He veil yeit ſtay wpone your returne tuentie dayis, and at that tyme as ye fall think meit, no mane is abill to retard his deliberatione [but] ye onlie. I veil maiſt erniſtlie requyſt yow to mak haeft in your cuming: yowr linggeringe going hes done yow harme, yeit yowr preſens will help all that hes bein, and is ſic as neceſſarilie mene mane knaw quher to find theme ſo trowlie the treweſt freindis, as I may ſaye, in conſtant loyall behauore, ne fu[ch] in this cuntrie hes better. I ame nocht ignorant quhow fare fundrie of yowr f[reindis] hethe bein intyſit be faere conditions and offeris to hewe bein drawin by y[ow], bot the hope they hewe of yowr future preſens incuragis theme agains the [fal]ſattis of yowr enemies preſent. For Godis ſaek tempt theme no more, [but] be queik in yowr returne, that ve may tak a cours agreabill to [yowr] ſerwice, and meit for our awin ſtandinge. The tyme, in my appeirans, is verie proper for this purpoſ. Mene heth ſo fare imbarkit theme ſelfis directlie agains [his] Maieſtie, that the lowed found of there retract fall nocht be hard. My Lord [Bothwell], tho expreſſie aganis his Maieſties comand, and agains his awin promiſs be vord a[mouth] befor his parting, and ſins, hes cum to Dunfirm-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 205, fol. 409.

ling, as is thocht to hewe ref[cut] his Maiestie there from sic as ves appoyntit to hewe takin his Maiestie, being at his hunting and pastyme in Haltone, quher his Maiestie ves disposit to hewe f[tayit] aucht or tene dayis; bot vpone the aduertisment of this, suddenie in [the nicht] this last Sunday come to this towne; quhilk hes disapoyntit all ther [schemes] this tyme, so that ewerie vne suspectit to be vpone this attempt hes thi . . . fend there excusis to his Maiestie; bot there partis restis to be tryit, and his [Maiestie] veill nocht pass theme owir in filens. My Lord Bothuell in this mater . . . how yowr absens hes bein sumquhat abusit; and hes bein vpone the serv[ice] of ther maters, nocht so mikill for veill of the caufs, nor leuse of [those] he is in fallowship vith, as fore deadlie inwy he baeris the Chancler. Bot ye knaw ye may laed heme be the nosf, and trewlie I val[d haue] yow the founer heir for his caufs. I thinke ye falbe the first to mak paece. Yowr longe stay cane nocht aneuch be admird of all this cu[ntrie]. Gif ye fuld cum post, I hope ye fall nocht cum so . . . to refaue yowr . . . is my Lord falbe redie to delyuer it, and that for his gud be . . . the diuisione is the same ves at Striueling Raed, except in my Lord Bo[thuell's] persone, and in my Lord Glamis, quha is detenit . . . bot there i . . . diuouris gif my Lord Chancler and he be nocht in found dealling, certene [it is] the Chancler and Justice Clark ar agreiit, and that be Sir . . . Meluelis mediatione. The Chancler renders yow haertlie thankis for yowr frens[chip]. He vretis none to yow, for that ewerie [day] he loukis aftir yowr self. Vord ves heir certenlie tene dayis . . . in . . . or Englos and yeit . . .

The caufs quhy I hawe bein so lange a vretting [is] becaufe his Maiesties being at pastyme, quher the Chancler culd nocht be hed, bot maer be cause I vold hewe fowme fewre intelligens of thise thingis [quhilk] hes bein of [late,] sins the refet of yowr last letters, in brewing. I am of the Chanclers mynd in that. I knaw nocht quhat to vret to yow till yowr cuming, saef vne thing, that it is meitest ye cum, in respect ye falbe velcum bothe to the estaet spirituall and temporall, I . . . in particulare by many of theme selfis. The caufs I vrot so suddenie with Mr Richard

Douglas, ves for that I thocht affuredlie my letter fuld hewe cum to yowr handis at Beruik, or at least betuixt that and Londone. I pray forget nocht that gentilmanis curtesie, [for] trewlie ye ar mikill oblist to heme. I hewe fend for my Lord . . . and yowr vyfe, according to the directione of yowr letter. Sche fall da[ell vith] my Lord hir fathir in the mater ye vrot of, bot I fai . . . his recidens be verie schorte heir. I fear to trubill yow vith ewerie nathlie truffill at this tyme: theis fall abyd yowr [leisure] at yowr returne. I juge this fame letter fall gif yow rancunter be the vay, or gif it do nocht, I pray yow that my nyxt do it. So, my verie humbill fer[wice] rememberit to yowr Lordship, I comit yowr Lordship to Gods cuir[lasting] protexione. Frome Courte, this xiiij of Appryll, [1589].

Your Lordship lowing brother
aluayis to be commandit
vith ferwice,

J. GRAY.

Sundrie yowr Lordships frends avatis yowr cuming in this towne, and vill all meit yow at Beruik.

[Excuse] I pray your Lordship, both the vret and [spelli]ng, for it ves done in gryt haest, [and] paper culd nocht be hed.

For the Master of Gray of Scotland,
presentlie at Londone.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHELEY.¹

MY LORD, I must vyffet you with my lynes as often as I can get convoy. Yesterday cam in before the Kyng and Councell divers great men of

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 395. Thomas Fowler seems to have been the English resident or envoy at the Scottish court.

power that lye rownd abowt Huntleyes lands and Arroles, as Malcon-toſhe, the Laird of Graunt, all the Forbaffes and Dromonds, Frendrathe, and others; and geven in theyre hands, and oftages (that be caryed with the Kyng), that they ſhall proſecute and aprehend all traytors in this jorney confederat with Huntley, and hathe ſpeciall names of pryncypall men ſet downe. The pryncypall howſe of Arroll, called Slanes, a xvj myles from this towne, is furniſhed with a garryſon, and kept for the King. Huntley is ſtraytly kept, and therefore diſcontent, and makes meanes to be banyſhed, and offers cawfyon of any noble men in great ſomes, that he ſhall neyther deall with ſtraungers to moleſt this country, nor religion in it, nor ſhall ever returne without lycence obteyned of the Kyng. He wold fayn be gon, and ſum great ones of theſe noble men wold have it grant, as the Lord Hamelton for one; but it is now ſet down, that he ſhalbe arayned and found guilty of treſon thereafter; they will take farder order. But if he get lowſe by baniſhment, I lyke it not, and dothe what I can to perſwade the contrary. I pray your Lordſhip haſten the cominge of ſuche a one hether as I have wryten *of before, and all ſhalbe well; for thys nobyllitie [are] aſrayde to toche him in blud. For owght that I ſee they meane to arayne him* and fynd him guilty, but to ſtay judgment. What that ſhold meane I know not well. I perceave ſum of this party hathe aſſured him abſolutely for his lyffe and lands, which, they ſay, they dyd to get him. In all wayes the Kinge is free of any condifyon with him. Yeſterday alſo was a petycyon preſented to the Kinge and Cowncell, to lyfence the Maſter of Gray to cum in. The Kinge aunſwered it, that at Edenbrough, at a generall convencion, it was ordered that all Papiſts ſhold avoyd the country, and that frome thence forth not any Scots man that was abrode in other cowntrye, and knowne to be affected with papyſtry, ſholde [come] home, nor enter into this realme, before the Kirke [was] ſatyffyed of theyre ſowndnes in religion, and . . . interfeſſors for them, and the Maſter of Gray eſpecyallie [was] intended in this decre, which was proclaymed in all cittyes and burrowes of Scotland; therefore he will not graunt the ſayd Maſter his entraunce before that order were performed, for he wold not breke ſo [good] a purpoſe. So I perceave theyre will be ſum ſtay his coming in. This is all at this tyme.

Yet fence is aryved here Mr James Hudfon, who [was] with the Kinge and Chancellour about the fayd Master of Graye. The Chancellour beinge perfwaded of his Maiesties lykinge, and sum good folkes of his cominge perfwaded presently lyk . . . for it, with provifyon that he thold satiffy the [Kirk] within forty dayes, and the Chauncellour is resolved that the Master kepe a good cownse with him. He will use co . . . This day we remove to Donotter, the Erll [Marschalls] howse, and so on to Sterlyng and to Edenboroghe. God preserve your Lordship. This last of Aprill, 1589. Haberden.

Your Lordships loving frend and
counsellor to command,

T. FOWLER.

It is geven out here secretly by Bodwells frends, that notwithstanding all this rule he makes, his hatred to England in his unreverent speches of hir Maiestie, that there is an intercownse of dealing by letters betwene the Lord Chamberlayne and him, which the Chauncelour and others marvell at, if it sholde be true, but can hardly beleve it, and I perfwade to some it is a device to shew his credit.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

the treuthe of our estait vitch I fand [to be very] different from that I did accompt it to be, for I perceave a greater difficultie then I lukit for [from] the persecutioun of theis Rebelles, be reafoun of the King my masters sumquhat to passionat affectioun towards them for sum particulaire respects, vitch, as the Chancellar affirmis, did grou from the stories vsit be the Queen your souveraine in that maiter: for in the begining haid any man of sperit bein fend hither, the Kings necessitie, with the concur-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art 189, fol. 382. The commencement of this letter is wanting.

rence of the veil disposit noble men about his Maiestie, [would haue]
 moveit him for to accord to quhatsumeuer should have bein demaundit.
 Bot the tym past, and the rebellis haid so many freindis about him, that
 they submittit themselfis [to] a forme of entering. Yet albeit the King
 feimit not to deal in any capitulatioun with them: he moueit the noble
 men abowt him to giue vnto the rebelles promise of lyf, [liberty], and
 goodes; the promisers ver Lordis Hamiltown, Angus, Mar, Morton,
 Heume, Maraschall, and Master of Glammifs. The [Lord] Chancellor
 found in theis, if farther ordre ver not taken, verie great danger; and
 yet would not seim to be the doer of it, bot moveit the King to con-
 vein his Estaits; quhere the [thing] being propofit, it ves concludit that
 the Rebelles, so maid coulpable of thair fact, be kept strictly and fr
 . . . the first point ves performed, by Huntly his submissioun, and con-
 fessing of treasonis, and by Bothuell and Crauford thair convictioun by
 ane affyse of thair peires . . . strict keeping; it is there
 they be yet prifoners . . .
 of inhabilitie. Treuly thair is no appearence . . .
 I may tell in my particulaire, for in a maiter . . .
 by Huntly vitche apperteinethe to me, the King hes [said, he] vill in
 Godes [name] prefer no man to him. So that, to vryt plainly, I see no
 appearence that any of the 3 pointis concludit in conventioun stratlie exe-
 cut agenst . . . from our selfis, and in this I knou fume men,
 inclined to do our Chancellor good, haithe hermit him for to . . .
 haue maid his credeit futche with the King, that quhat he pleasethe he may
 get done. Bot in this they ar [ftran]gers bothe in the Kings awin naturell,
 and in our estait . . . vill assur your Lordship, the Chancellor quhat
 he may [do he] vill, bot all he would, he may not: for the Lord Lennox
 is nou a man, and accomptit for his aige a g[reat] diffimuler and reafon-
 ablie acute. He beginnethe to have interest in the Kings ear, and of
 naturall inclinatioun he . . . rune to the courfe, and freinds, for
 dyversis respects, thois Rebelles, vitche is no small impediment to . . .
 thing the Chancellor of him self could propone . . . maiter one vther
 thair is, the Master of Glamifs . . . the estait in futche termes, that
 if he ver greit with the Chancellor, he lukethe to fall in his place . . .

moveit him factiously to fil the Chancellars rume. He indirectly deal-
lis vith Huntly and fume of his fo[lloweris]; fo, that appeirand to be
ennemie, quahatever he fayeth it tendethe for Huntlyis advantage;—to the
King he feimethe to speik it for the Kings veil, and veil of estait . . .

. auin dispositioun inclyning thairto. In forte he is
in a maner the vphoulder of Huntly reght. This fare I
doubt if it be plainly your men heir, for your Embassadour
is accomptit sumquhat simple for our estait; and when men [fette] one a
ground, if it tuitche the King his Maiestie in co[n]science, it] desolves
him from it, vitche I haue not of for that I nauer as yet
haue practiquet the m bote of the Chancellor, and a nombre
of vther [veill] villars, who would be glaid, from thair
that fume man of countenance ver fend hither extremitie of
justice nou can not be haid, that pointes resoluit by estaites might be
crauit to be vitche vithout doubt shalbe grantit, for the K[ing]
is futché, that at this tym he vill not refuse her Maiestie your souveraines
reasonable petition befyd this, the Chancellor vill advyse your
L[ordship] and the King bothe, in maiters he can not propone himself,
by reafoun, as I haue said, he is greu both
directly and indirectly, for futché a propo findis
noe man fitter then Mr Robert Boues, for [one knowin] in our affaires is
requisit, and for so scho imploiment small moyens for a great
good M[after] his inhabilitie. Remitting aluayis the choise of that to
your Lordships vyfdome, bot one is necessarely requisit
vitche any thing to be performed. As for the
. that I could
In it
durft not haue medlit in it, for the day befor this toun, the holl
merchendis in concurrence maid [head] and bostit my Lord Hamiltoun
and Chancellor, because they opposit them felfis to the marriage; so that I
am lothe to speik in it, and I think I shall affectuat, for
the King craueis so great maiters bo[the in this] and vther pointis, that
I doubt if they to performe it, and in this country thair be

verie [few] noble men inclynable to it. I would haue vrytten to her Maiestie particulairly quhat the King haithe said to [me in] that maiter, bot I forbear, for that I haue not delt in vther pointis vith him, bot by Mr Hudfon, vho shalbe despatchit towardis her Maiestie. Vithin fyue or fix [days], I shall, God willing, aduertis her Maiestie of all thingis, and more particulairly then goodly, I may at this tym by reafoun of fume heaft. I feare her Maiestie tak not veil that the money sche fend to the King for [the] greater pairt, is destyneit to th' Earle Marchall for [defraie of] his voyage in Denmark, bot sche schall not blam [the] Chancellar for it, nor haithe sche any caufe. Ref[talrig will] aduertis your Lordship, that all the jaloufies conceiuit of me proceedit of fume opinioun they haid that I ves go[verned] by Mr Archibald Douglas. And thairfor I pray your Lordship, the treuthe wer to schau how, when for malice Mr Archibald would haue calumniat the Chancellar, I told your Lordship the simple treuthe. This I pray your Lordship vryt to Mr
. Mr Afchby, whither from negligence or fume
fauorably of me, he neuer vtterit the fame bot I am not to be a fore accufer of it, for [I] hoyp, God willing, to be able to do my awin turn. In the particulaire of Dumfermling, albeit be half pairtie as yet, I trust I shalbe Thus haueing to long troublit your Lordship, I [commit you] to Godis holy protectioun. From Edinborrou, [the iiij day] of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [seruice],

Patrick Master of Gray.

To the Right Honourable
My Lord Bourgley, Lord Heiche
Threasurer of England, [one] of her Maiesties
of England honorable Counsell.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

MY LORD, efter this uthier letter wes wrottin, Mr Aschby, hir Maiesties embassador, fend me on from your Lordship, bot, befor the receyt of it, I had taikin leue of his Maiestie to go vissie my father and my hous, so that presently I think I can answer it in litle, forther then is alrede conteinit in my other letter: for thair is futehe unuorthy men about the Kings Maiestie that honest men can nether do nor speik bot is misconstrued. Yet within a day or tuo I am to retourne, and then I shall concur with the Chancellor; bot I knou he wilbe lothe to deall ether directly or indirectly in stay of the mariage with Denmark; for, as I had wrottin the verie day befor I came to this toun, thair arose a great agentt my Lord Hamiltoun and him; for he, all noble men and gentlemen, fave a verie feu particulairs, be altogither inclyning to Navarre. So that my opinion is, bothe for that and other maiters, that Mr Robert Bowes shold be fend hither, and indirectly, the Chancellor and my self shall advyse him hou to stay the maiter, and her Maiestie never to acknowledge it; nor yet shall it be knowin in Denmark the maiter to proceed from her. And in the mid tym I shall deall quhat I can with his Maiestie, according to the reafouns sete down in your Lordships letter, and by Mr Hudfone shall mak you advertisit hou fare I proffit. Bot as I wrot, th'Erle Marefchall hes alrede receavit a great pairt of the money her Maiestie fend to the King, for defraie of his voyage. The charge of this mariage is one Mr Peter Young, [Mester Almowfer to his] Maiestie, who ves first imployed in the fame. As for my actiouns, so fare as they may extend, shall ever be to doo her Maiestie service, nixt my auin Master, and I hoyp the Chancellor will do the fame, so that bothe *propter istud ter* our auin particulier weilles as your Lordship co it shalbe agentt my will if we [quar]reil amongst our selfis. I have hard [nothing] from Mr Archibald Douglas of newis, nor wisch I to heir from him. Bot wold be glaid to [hear] from your Lordship if

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 381.

any be good. So let me comit your Lordship to Godis holy protectioun.
[From] Edinborrou, this 5 of Junij, 1589.

My Lord, it shalbe, in my opinion, verie pertinent [that the] Secretary wryt a letter to the Chancellar, conteining some argumentis sett down by your Lordship, and futch a letter [as the] Chancellar may veil schaw to his Maiestie, as proceeding from Mr Secretars self.

Your Lordships to comand,

Mr. of Gray.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

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. your Lordship to understand that fen
. by the Ambaffadours convoy toching the ty . . .
acc Kings maryage, and the resolucyon upon the fame,
I fynd styll to holde, and the Erll Marhall preparying in haft to goo with
the next wynde, for his instructyon is not drawne to a poynt, but sum of
them agreed a I fynd that the Kinge is caryed by Coronell
Steward, but speccially by Peter Yonge, in this matter of his maryage,
frome the Chauncelour, and all other, so far as he comends the de-
lying of the towne of Edenbroroghe, and alowes [it to] procede of zeale
and affeccyon they beare him, and to avoyde an extremety lyke to fawle
upon themselves for theyre trade, yet he condemnes them for unreverent
speches that the baser fort shold use against the Lady of Navar. And
sum other the and theyre raylings agaynst England, which he
wold have had sum ponished for, but there was no partyculer men charged,

¹ Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 379.

it was so generall. The sayd Steward and Yonge hathe put in his hed that the syfter of Navar is olde and croked, and sumthing worfe if all were knowne; and fettes forthe the vther. So that it aperes the Kinge hathe conceived a dislykinge by imagynacyon, which makes the Chauncellor yeld, and allow of his procedinges that way, but is sorry for it in his hart, and hathe told me in secret, that there hath none but fooles dealt in that negocyacyon as yet, fuche as ar vayne . . . and hoepes to gayne to them selues by it; regarding not the good of theyre Master, and even now tuo fuche lyke, but of a higher degree, for the Marshall and the Lord of Dingewell, that goe with him, will not bothe make a wyfe man. And their instruccyons shalbe fuche as the Chauncelour thinks they in Denmark will never agree unto: one is, that they shalbe bound to furnishe the Kinge ten thou[sand] men, payd and armed for fix monthes, if he [should nede] to use them, for the obteyninge of Ingland after hir Maiesties defease. It was once agreed on so longe as he shold nede them. I thinke to get all the wh sone as they be drawne perfect, but non is present The sayd Peter Yonge determined to goe with the [Erll] Marshall, and the Kinge comends it, and it

.

that Yonge

instruccyons to himfelfe that shalbe more

be not lyked, so that they will haue no ft

matter, but hoopes to brynge hir home with the

at his returne, and make no moe fendings whea

It was set downe that the Erll sholde have but

the couenants of the maryage, and the Lord Chancellor

shold haue gon for her, the Erll Marshall is perswaded by sum frends, of which in truthe I am one, that Peter [Yonge] will robbe him of all the honour, havynge byn there before, and havinge secret instruccyons. And now he will not goo at all if Peter Yonge goo, and tells the [King] so playnly yesterday; so that yet the matter is not agreed upon. It is wished here by the well [willers] to Ingland, that the Councell of Denmarke myght be wrowght to answere, they wold conclude no maryage with the Kinge, without the Quene of Inglands consent; and that the forward

Scots Da[nistes, that] will take so much upon them, dyspifyng that hir Maiestie shold medle in the Kings maryage, may be dryven from theym unlesse she be pleased. The Master of Gray hathe com[municate] with me at lengthe; the Chauncelour uses him well, and they haue had large conferences together, and the King geves him resonable good countenance, but his credit is lyttel with him. He seeks alwayes to [obtain] the Abbey of Domfermyng, at least to haue the [benefitt] of the lawe allowed him, which is so resonable [that] it cannot be well refused, and the Chancelour is of [that] opinyon; yet the Kinge hathe made no answer: but to me he can never get it by lawe. The Master spekes exceeding well of England, and agaynst all that be not well affected to the amyte. If he so contynue I shalbe glad; but he condemnes the hardnes of her Maiestie, and that she loses much there by; and d . . . it by reson in many thinges. I dowt his credit will not be much here a longe tyme. Thus I deale playnly with your Lordship, letting you knowe the [state] of all, reseruyng the rest to your Lordships owne wyfe conclusion: Allwayes I must beseeche your Lordship that thes may be kept secret. I know the Master wrytes [at lengthe, so] that myne is the lesse nedefull; but I must be done

my opinion that it is exceeding nedefull to haue a gentleman of accompt [sent] hether. And he thinks it wolde stand him in good sted for his owne partyculer. The Erills are gon to severall prysons in the country; Bodwell to Taintallon, Huntley to Bartyke Castell,¹ Crauford to St Androies; and every [one] a trusty gentleman with sum gard for theyre keeping. And so they rest without more yet. For other matters I refer to my Lord Ambassadors letters. And so praying God for your Lordships happy and long lyfe, this 7 of June, 1589. Edenbrowghe.

This day the Capteynes of the Vangard and Tygar hathe byn a borde and with the King, who takes it marveylowse kyndly that they were apoynted to offer him service, and is not a lyttell prowde that he used them well; but the villanouse base pe[pists⁷ and Spanyerds together mysused sum of the people, and slue a tromp^e tour; wheareupon the King

¹ Borthwick Castle.

was extreme angry, and willed me that a demaund shold be put in to the Cowncell for iustice, and it wold be graunted, for so he wold see it. Wheare upon I told the Ambaffador, who had made sum other requestes before the diforder of the bo . . . and how ever the matter goes, was lyttel regarding. At his request I became his secretery, and drew him ij requestes to present to the Kinge and Cowncell. It may be they will do more good then other wayes wold, for I haue convinced the King to see justice done, and the Inglishe m[en] well used, beinge the subiects, not only of his good Syfter and neyghbor prynces, but to accompt her his mother, maynteyner and upholder, protectour and defender, fo, blessed by God, that the lyke of her for so many yeres cannot be red of in thes cowntry, and who hathe byn so miraculowfly preserved [agaynst] all develythe devyses of man, that he might . . . God wold preserve hir Maiestie to the end. He alowed of my speche excedinge well . . .

.

Your Lordshipp hu[mble servant]
 at comawndment . . .
 lyffe . . .

T. FOWLER.

Mr Archebald hathe wrytten hether spightfully agaynst the Master of Gray.

To the Right Honorable Lord Burleyghe,
 the Lord Treforer of England
 —sped ye vith them.

WILLIAM ASHEBY TO LORD BURGHELEY.¹

OF the Master of Graye and the Lord Chancellors concuring in on good course, it is to be feared; for that there haith ben great enmytie in Court

¹ This article is extracted from Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 186, fol. 377, under date 8 June, 1589. William Asheby was the English ambassador at Edinburgh.

heretofore betwixt them; and now the Chancellour hauing the onlie credit, he will hardlie suffer a competitour to creep into favour for
habet *virtus*, and the Master of Graies humour is not here
 [well] liked.

Your Honour will fmyle at a pageant now bigon betwixt Mr Arch. Douglas and the Master of Gray, who, as I haue hard, femed to be great frendes to rune on course being in London together; they haue begone to deface on another by lettres, which [haue] ben shewed to the Kinge, who makes himself [merry] with it. The Master of Graye, a litle before

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 into Scotland, writeth to his brother here, what an evill course and hurtfull to the [King] Mr Arch. Douglas foloweth; and wifheth he might be caulled whom, for that his being there [is] a hinderance to the King. This lettre was shewed to his Heighnes, and a report mad of it to Mr Arch. Douglas by some of his frends here. Mr Arch. replies, and points out the Master [of] Graye in his coullours: His lettre, in like manner, is shewed to the King, who laughs at this strange dealing, wherin thei shew what faithfulness is to be had at there hands: that shewing [to] the would a kind of frendship, and yet going about to cutt on anothers throts by evill reports. Theise men maie welbe vfed, but never trusted. Your Honour maie not [let it] be knowen that this cometh from me, till we shall se some of there refe[ntment], for I thinke thei will not here ceasse.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

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 so many appeirences of maiteris to fall furthe [that] I dyferrit from day to day to wryt in . . . for sum certaintie, witche as yet haistely I performe. Bot I have stayit for a day or . . . Mr Hudfone, and til then [have] fend their [lines to] let your Lordship knou hou that upon

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 372.

sume occasions thair fett furthe at my retourne, betuene the [Lord] Chancellor and Master of Glamise sume quarrell witche wes occasiound that no thing wes begun, as wes promised at the last convention by [his] Maiestie, tuitching the rebelles; for the Master of Glamis tuke a plaine deeling for th'Earle of Huntly, and the Chancellor, vnderhand, for Montrois: so that [between] the tuo all misters ver neglected; witche [being] perceaved by sume honest men who hes medlit in this cause, they trauelit with bothe the . . . and hes takin up the maiter betuene the Chancellor and the Master, so that yisternicht they haue promisit honest freindschip among them felfis, and to procure to joine in the course all [noble] men they can, for the suppressing the witche . . . if this maiter be effectuall betuene them good, bot I am affrait. I wryt to your Lordship by Mr Hudfone, that the Master of Glamise is We

his nepheu is to chose his curatoris, and [of] necessitie he wes compellit to ryd from . . . to stay for a tym; thairfor thocht it not good to leave behind him so great ane ennemie at [Court as] the Chancellor. This is a point I knou to be . . . for he hes stayed theis eicht dayis bygone only [for] this purpose. Aluais th'effect will give licht . . . I am requyrit my self to enter in this same [freind]schipe, to the witche I accord most willingly Th'Earle of Huntly is yet posselt with my [living], and I as yet can have no redresse, for I crave indifferent iustice according to our laues, witche [I] can not have; for the King him self in persoun haith procured that the Sessioun should medle in no processe or actioun apperteining th'Earle of Huntly during his [lying] in ward. So that th'Earle is in better caice nor if he haid never bein traiterous, and better by . . . committing then he wes fre: For this I of the Chancellor and the rest of honest men; and men who craveis me in fellouschip, that they find out the moyen how I may have iustice . . . for me, for I know my living dayly offerit . . . I will sute Huntly for it.¹ In this caice [stand] my maiters at this tym. So that straichtly I ansuer your Lordship, in

¹ 'The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice of Domferme-ling, quhilk was tane fra the Mester of Gray laitylly decourted, and geuen to him.'—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, 4to., p. 361.

your auin langage, whither I feing I have not yet begon
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to tak by the hand. I dar not wryt so plain as I would, and as I shall by
Mr Hudfone knou your Lordship can not be informed of our
werie for they be not knouin to many. Bot if your [Lordship
haue] not fume sufficient man send hither, I do assur [your Lordship]
maiters for that estait can not go rytly; and if we had heir fume sensible
man, your Lordship fould see England fould find freindis; and nou I dare
affirme quhair ever thair is one favouring England about his Maiestie,
thair be ten Spainyardis: But Mr Hudfone shall informe your Lord-
ship, to whom I commit all othir thingis, faue to schaw your Lordship
[how] throu finistrous men the King thocht not the of me
for her Maiesties earnest requyft: bot her I may kythe my felf
and knou whom to em I hopp to redrefs all maiters to my
contentment. Mr Archibald Douglas, within theis eicht days [hes] wrot
a letter hither to a gentleman for to be schown to his Maiestie, containing
no other thing, fave [falsate] of me, and my deportment at my last being
in England, quhairin he tuitchis no les deiply her Maiestie and all your
Lords of Counsell then my felf: Thairfor it haithe pleasit his Maiestie for
to [give] me the letter to send to her Maiestie, to th'end [it may be]
sein quhat handsome ghaist sche enterteinethe. For my pairt, I protest
the greateft offence that.
.
receaue for doing the lyk, for a tryed say no more in this, for
pat your Lordship will consider of the maiter when as you shall [get his]
auin letter, witche I shall send by Mr [Hudson], as the trouthe, particu-
lairly of many pro So I commit your Lordship to Godis holy
protection. From Edinburch, this 16 of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [service],

Mr of Gray

I forbear to wryt to her Maiestie as yet, not having full knouledg of all thingis, bot Mr Hudfone schalbe by his Maiestie despatchet the 20.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

THE Master of Gray fyndes, as he thinks, hard dealing at the Kings hands; and thoughe the Chauncelour and he agree well in all showe, as much as may be, yet I know (more then many) it is no perfect part with eyther. But it is fuer the Chauncelour will not go an inche farder then he fees the King lykes and will alowe; and the King is not to be won in this caice, as partly I have toched it allreddy to your Lordship: and, thoughe I presume to wryt it, the Master fayes and thinks I may doo him more good at the Kings hands, then eyther Chauncelour, or other in this land. And for his well spekyng and honoryng of hir Maiestie, my foverayne, I have done my best, even very lately, as before. But the King prayes me not to speke for him, nor to deal in his matters, as I love him. I told him it was for his own sake, not for the Master of Grayes, that I spoke, for I was fearfull that it should be bruted, bothe here and in Ingland, that he wold be so parcyall as to stay justice, specyally in the favour of so great an offendour. He styll fayes he does it for the [friendship] of a yonge lady his doughter, and beloved of his blud; and he trustes that neyther hir Maiestie nor Councell will accompt the Master and alyke. Nay, he assuers himselfe of it, and fayes, ‘ If they love me, they will not, but [if] they knew him as well as I, they wold not. I will prove I do him no wronge.’ I cannot goo much farder in this poynt, because he told me with so fayne and good words, and I must [mynd] my creddit, which is knowne to be some what more then ordinary. To conclude, I see no hafty for the Master.

¹ Extracted from the original, dated 22d June 1589, in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 374.

A SHORTE DISCOURSE, WHEREIN IS SET DOUNE THE VERIE TREUTH OF
THE KING OF SPAINE HIS DESIGNE AGAINST THIS HOLE ILE,
BY THE MASTER OF GRAYE, 1589.¹

THE vifer forte, and men best broken in affaires of all ages, and amonge all natiouns, hes ever accomtit man to be borne, not so much for himself as for his countrie, the veilfare and libertie whairof to his uttermost he is bounde to preas to conserue; as not only of Grecians and Romans, bot of all other nations, hes done frome the beginning infinite number of wise and valiant men, whom the luif of their patrie movit to expon to all kinde of daunger, and losse their substance, heritages, and their owin propir lives; whairthrou not onlie men of noble blood ver crounit with perpetuall praise, bot many of basse lineage ver nobilizit and acquirit immortall fame. Contrary vaies, such as haith bene instruments, aithir to troble or to betray their country, of what blood or qualitie foever they have bene, or what occasion foever they could pretende so to doe, have purchasit perpetuall infamy and extreeme ruyne, as testifies the registars of the lyves both of th'one and th'uther set downe in famous histories. By reason whairof, considering the present estaite of this yle, and specially of this country of Scotland, as appeiris at this tyme devydit vithin it self; and knowing that divers noblemen and others, some intyfit by corruption, and some movit rather of ignorance and blynde zeale, nor of malice, haith bene, and are presentlie, indusit somvhat facilly, ayther to agrye altogei-ther, or at least to comport vith alterations politickly intendit, partlie under the superficiall pretext of religion, and pairtlie under colour of revenge of the Queenes death.

For dischardge of my duty to his Maiestie my foveraigne, and to my country, having dieply rypit out, and by assurit intelligence tryit, the very treuth of the designe of the King of Spaine, the only mover of thes im-

Grecians.

Alcibiades,
Themistocles,
Epaminondas,
Thrasibulus.

Romans.

Camillus,
Horatius Cocles,
Scævola,
Fabritius.

Tit. Livius,
Appius Alex.
Plutarch.

Cause of writing
this discourse.

¹ LANSDOWNE MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 155, art. 165, fo. 409.

minent troubles, I have in this fchorte fubfequent difcourfe thocht meit fummarily to fett downe the fame, vithout any farther langage, or inrichment of exemples, bot only to fchaue the fimple veritie, for refolutioun of all that fchall reid or heare the fame. Not doubting bot the treuth and efficacie of the reafouns fchall fufficientlie move all indifferent and honeift men to doe thair deuty toward thair Prince and Patrie, for thereby it fchall evidentlie appeare, that the only occafion of this great Spanifh preparatioun is the conqueft of this hole yle, let that King cover his defigne as fchall pleafe him, vith the pretendit cavfes, above specifiet, of Religioun and revenge. For although the holle inhabitants of this yle ver of the Romaine religioun, yet yt is not likelie that he fhould chaunge his purpofe of conqueft, or effect thaym more nor he did the Catholicks of the Low Countreys and Portugall, to tham having fchawin no better favour than yf they had bene Proteftantes; following the exemple of his father, Emperour Charles the firft, who ves not greatlie movit vith love of religioun, or great love to the Catholick church, in taking Pope Clement prifoner, for that he feimit rather to favour the King of France nor him, and in ufing the faid Pope noe better then if he had bene Martin Luther him felf; vith many othyr examples that mycht be inducit to prove, that his progenitors and he hes, at all tymes and occafions, rather refpectit thair awin commoditie, nor relligioun, and only politickly did ufe yt to ferve theyr turne. Likevife, yt hath noe great appearaunce that he makis theis great chardges and preparatiouns for revenge of the Queine of Scotlandes death, vhois libertie during her life tyme to procure he ves mervellous flou: vich at that tyme haid bene farre leffe chardgeable nor is nov his prefent interpryfe, vich, if he may accomplyfh as he intendis, vho ever vithin this yle is moft affectionat to his courfe fhall, vithout doubt, finde a Spaniard to be a very evill neibour, and a farre vorfe maifter. Yet I knoue fome thair be in this realme vho fyfhes beft in trovbled vatters, and are enemies to quietnes; bot by thair actiones they are fo manifeftit that I forbear to exprefse thair names. To theis I thinke this difcourfe fhall not be aggreable, bot I am affured be others yt fchall be veyle lykit of, becaufe, as a deutifull fubject to my Prince and veill affected to my Country, looking indifferently upon the eftaite prefent, I haue fett down

the fimple treuth, defiring the difcreet reader fo to thinke thereof vithout all partiallitie.

Thair is noe man fo ignorant bot may eafilie perceave the diffing of the Spainard to have bene, and to be, the overthrou generally of this yle, for th'avancement of his ouin eftaite, and confervatioun of his monarchie, as appeared cleerely in the laft yeares expedition; vvhich, be the providence of God, had fuch event as ves fufficient to have divertit him from his unjuft interprife, if any admonitioun from God might have terrifiet him, or movit him to confidder his deuty. Yit not only is he noe vayes terrifiet be the former admonitioun, bot it is nou notoriouſlie knawin, be dayly moſt certaine intelligence, his ambition to be fo infatiable, and his diffing to be fo deiply groundit, that he is altogether myndit to profecut his former attemptat, be farre greater preparatiouns to that effect then of before.

Vvhich is noe neu thing either in him or his predeceffors, as is evident by the hiftorie of his progenitor, Ferdinand of Aragon, huſband to Ifobella Queine of Caſtill, vho, under pretext to help his tender couſin, Ferdinand King of Naples, againſt Lewis the xij. King of France, being in armes for acquiring of the ſaid kingdome of Naples, as juſt titular thairof, not only did not help his ſaid couſin Ferdinand, bot, be the contrarie, maide a priue league vith the ſaid Lewis, for equall perting of the kingdome of Naples betuein them; and deiply diſſembling his intention, he ſende the great capitain Gonſaluo, as it had bene to help his couſin, vho never utterit his injunctions, till the French armie ves very neere to Naples, vith vhome he joynit than, and expellit the ſaid Ferdinand, and his poſteritie, out of thair kingdome. And not contente of this diviſioun, vhairby he obteynit the better parte of the kingdome, the King of France being paſt the Alpes, and reteiring toward his auin country, he immediatly moves his lieutenant Gonſaluo to take quarrell vith the Duke of Nemours, lieutenant for the King of France, for a licht forgit cauſe, vhair throu at laſt be moving in expectat varre, he conquiſt th'other half of the kingdome of Naples; and ſo the holle came to his handes, and is poſſeſſit preſentlie be King Phillip.

Fr. Guic. li. 5.
Paul Jovius.

Fr. Guic. li. 7.

The like ve finde of his grandfather, Phillip Archduke of Auftria, and

after King of Spaine, who of his ouin naturall ves nothing inferiour in ambitioun to the forenamed Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, whom he compellit violentlie to quyt the kingdome of Spaine, and with great danger of his estate and person to vithdraw himself to Naples; a sufficient testimonie of his insatiable minde towardis other Princes dominiouns, in caisse he had not bene prevented be untymous death. To whom succedit his sounne Charles, the fift Emperour, and King of Spaine, whois actiouns are soe repeat in mens memories, and sett down soe largelie be divers famous hystiographers, that yt ver superfluous to mentionat tham at all: for the league maide against him by the holle Princes and potentates of Italie, aftir his unjust conquest of the Duchy of Millaine, and other principauties, sufficientlie testifies hou fearefull his arrogance and ambitioun ves to the neybor Princes of his aige.

Fr. Guic. lib. 16.
Joan. Sleyd.

Nou have we to treat of King Phillipp, who in ambitioun farre surmountes his predeceffors; for, in his very tender aige, he ves not contente of the exorbitant conquest maide be his ancesters, bot, intending to adjoyne thairto the Realme of England, he married Marie, than Quein thairof, whom he inducit, schortlie after the marriage, to tailie the Crowne unto him, and his airis whosoever, fayling ayris gotten betuen them selfis: and for obteyning his intente he did use Cardinall Poullet [Pole], both for inducer of his said Queine, and for mediator betuein him and the subjectis of the Realme, who, ymmediately upon knowledg of his ambitious minde, altogether, verie visely, rejectit his sute. But his ambitioun and crueltie hes utterit the self, no less against some his ouin native subjects, chieflie in the Low Countryes, be ymprisonment, blood, and vrack, of infinit number of comon peple, and of divers noble men, who had bene at all tymes his cheife favorers, and most deutfull subjects, as ver the two brether, the Barons of Battenburg; who, after longe imprisonment, ver cruelly behedit be the Duke of Alva, his lieutenant. The like, or greater crueltie, he comytted against the Countes of Egmont and Horne, th'one being kinsman to the said King, who not longe before did overthrou, (having chardge of the King), the French armie at St Quintin, and made prisoner the Constable of France, then Lieutenant over the French armie: and both the Countes having accompanied him in all his voyages and interprises,

Cron. Angl.

Tyrannie in the
Low Countryes.

Guil. Guic. Hist.
Belg.

and of his ouin catholick religioun; yit, in recompence of thair good fervice, vere both beheadit at Bruxells, the vth of June, 1567.

Divers other intollerable cruelties ver comytted by his foresaid Lieutenant against the holle countrie and inhabitants, by raising on tham many extraordinary exactions, customes, impostis, excises, and subsidies; and vorst of all, intendit to haue preffit them be the Spanish Inquisition, if thair constraint revolt haid not rejectit his tirannical intention, which ves th'original of the holle troubles that hes continueit since. And of the great cruelties perpetrat in the rest of the tyme of Duk d'Alva his residens thair, in the tyme of Don Johan d'Austria, vherin intervenit the lamentable and most horrible saccagement of that famous cittie of Antwerp. And nou last, during the tyme of the government of the Duke of Parma, vherin hes fallin the ruyn of many riche, populous, and famous provinces, citties and tounes, as not only the histories declaires, bot men daylie fees vith thair eies.

And nou his late conqueist in Portugall, vether just or unjust, I remytt to the judgment of the vyfer and more learned forte. Bot I cannot omytte hou unnaturallie his ambitioune transported him to hunt for that kingdom; for, when his nepheu Sebastian, King of Portugall, vas futed be the King of Mauritania to assit him in recoverie of his kingdome from his brother, unjust usurpar thairof, he vould not yeild to his suite, unto the tyme he fought to that effect th'advise and ayde of his uncle King Phillipp; who not only promisit him sufficient help of men and veschels, but earnestly poued him to prosecute that interprise: In hope vhairof, Sebastian the King did prepair his armie to passe the Straitis, looking daylie for performance of his Uncles promes, who not only dissapointit him at the prefixt tyme, in not sending him secours, bot, undir paine of death, inhibited all his subjects to accompanie his said nephewe in that journey. So that the yonge Prince vith his armie passit the sea, and vith him Mulei Mahomet, th'expellit King of Mauritania, and encounterit vith ther adversarie, Mulei Malak, the usurper King, vhear, after a longe and fore conflict, all the thrie kinges died; and upon the said Mulei Malak ver letters founde, fende from King Phillipp, schauing he vould not assiste his nepheu against him; a verie evident signe of his desire to obtaine that kingdome, knauing that

Hist. Lusit.

King Phillipp his
letters against his
ovin Nepheu.

his nepheu being cut of, thair ves no man of sufficient power to pretend any iust title thair to him, except one man, aigit of 82 yeares, a Cardinall named Henrie of Portugall, uncle both to King Phillipp, and to the laite King Sebastian, vho schortlie died. And then King Phillipp, throu a procured faction of th'Eftaites of that countrie, partly by corruption, and partly by faire promifes, vithout any great difficulty, obteynit his former intent, and ves receaved King. Bot I cannot pafs vith silence the recompence vhearvith his favorers and affisters ver gratifiet; for, efter his peaceable receptioun in that kingdom, thay presentit thair fuplication, craving, in recompence of thair good fervice, accomplishment of his promifes; vhairon they produced the handvret of his ambaffadors, vvhich he comandit them to present vith thair fupplication before the Colledg of his Judges in Lefbona; and that being done, the Judges gave this decret following:—

Hist. Anton.

The decret vher-
by ver recompen-
sit the King of
Spaine his favor-
ers in Portugall.

“ King Phillipp being iust heritor of the kingdom of Portugal, yt ves not lefom to the complenars to fell the fame for giftis or promifes, bot rather for that they offered yt not voluntarilie to the said King, they had incurred the penaltie of thair heades; and if the fame haid appertaint to Don Antonio, they could not fell the fame to the King of Spaine; vhearfor the King is noe vais obligit to the promifes made unto the complenars be his Embaffadors; but, using his benignitie and clemencie, he abfolves them from the former penaltie, vherof throu that caufe they maid themselves guiltie.” A verie notable example for all men, bot chieflie them of this yle, vho, throu faire promifes or trifling guiftes, are abusit in any forte to betraie the libertie of thair countrie, and speciallie to the King of Spaine. Let thairfore th'indifferent reader confider in vhat ftrait this yle, and the holle inhabitants thairof, as veil they vho are his favorers as others, fhallbe, in cafe he schall attein to the conquest thairof, in respect vhat extremitie, rigor, and tyrannie he hes not only unfit against fuch as he haith conquestit, bot evin against his ouin natiue subjects and countries, vho all haue taistit, as veil Papifts as Protestants, hou intolerable a maifter the Spaniard is.

Bot becaufe many of our countrymen are allured, pertly be corruption, pertlie be blinde zeale, to beleeve his enterprife to be iust, feeing he culors

the same to his favorers in Scotland with revenge of the Quein, the King his Mothers death in England, with revenge of injuries receaved and in both the realmes, with the restitution of the Roman religioun, the discourse following schall cleerely prove them to be only pretextuall causes, and the verie effectuall cause to be the conquest of this holle yle, for conservacion of his ovin estate and monarchie, which dependis chieflie and onlie in the preservatioun of the commoditie he reteiris from the Yndis, which, of the self, is evident. For no man th'estait of the King of Spaine doth knaue, but likvais knaveth, that in all the dominions he hes in Europe, the chairges of thair intertainment farre to exceed the profit. As to discend in particular, the profit that he dois reape of the Lou Countries is verie smalle, th'one half contyneuing in rebellion, and likelie to doe, th'other half, presently possesseit be him, so far exhaustit, throv the continuall varrs, that in no ways of yt self is yt able to finde sufficient nouritur to the feunumber now inhabiting yt, albeit a great pairt of the principalls, both of the country and townes, abandonet thair duellingis, some for extreme povertie, other for escheuing tyrannie, and hes reteirit themselfis to Holland, Zealand, and divers forraine countries. So that, as I have hard some of them selfis affirme, the yearlie interteinement of thois varres exceedeth the prouffit above two millions of gould, which he is not able to drawe from all his other dominions in Europe.

His commoditie
from Yndis.

The Lou
Countries.

Bourgoinge being verie small prouffit to him, and all imployed in intertainment of the country men. The revenue of Naples and Cecill dois scairfly keip the countreys in subjection, partlie bestouet upon the garrifouns, and partlie gevin out to the Barons of the countrie. The same is to be said of the Duchie of Millaine, vhear he interteynis great garrifouns, lik as he dois in all his dominions in Italie. Beside this, he hes to provide from his coffers for the intertainment of his galleyes in Naples, Cecill, and the rest in Italie.

Bourgoinge.

Naples,
Cecill.

Millaine.

In Portugal he is forced to hold above thaire heades a great armie, beside the interteyneidos or pensioners, which amountes to a farre greater sounge then the yearely deuty of this country yt self. As for the dominions in Spaine, all men knoweth the renewe of them not to be great, and with difficultie could he or his predecessors ever haue any great

Portugal.

Navarr,
Granada,
Aragon.

thing by extraordinarie impoft, and yit is he conſtrainit dayly to keepe in all frontier quarters of yt great garrifouns both for ſea and land, having on the one ſide the King of Navarre, and on th'other the Moores of Barbarie, pretending for Granada, and Aragon daylie readie to revolt for th'auncient deſpyt they haue at the name of Caſtillan.

Barbaria.

In Barbaria, vhear he hath noe commoditie, for his ouin furetie he is conſtrainit to beſtoue infinit chairdges. Beſide all this, yt is an exorbitant money he beſtoueth in France, Germanie, and all the pairtes of Europe, for intifeing men to ſerue his towrne. So that of neceſſite, yt is to be grauntit the moyen, vherwith all theis great matters are performed, to proceid allmoſt hollely from the Yndis, never one of his poſſeſſiouns in Europe being able to diffray the ſelf; and thairfore, confequentlie, the conſervatioun of his eſtaite and monarchie to depend upon the preſervacoun of his commodities from the Yndis.

He muſt be maſter
of the ſeas to pre-
ſerve his commodi-
tie from the Yndis.
Sir Francis Drake
his firſt exploit.

Bot this his commoditie cannot be preſervit, onleſs he be perpetually maſter of the ſeas, which cannot be denyit, ſeeing, ever ſince the firſt exploit of Sir Francis Drake, who had onlie in companie three ſchippes or foure, vith the which he reſt the King of Spaine his holle flotte, the ſaid King hes bein conſtraynit to beſtowe the one half for faſtie of th'other. And yit, if the ſea forces of England, Holland, and Zealand had not otherwiſe bene occupied, he coulde not haue maide forces ſufficient to haue defendit yearlie his flotte, againſt th'armie navale of thois three countreys. Lyk as, yit he is not able to doe, if ther other impeschments ver removit, which is not altogither impoſſible be fundrie accidents, for albeyt be aſſiſtance of other potent Princes, efter long preparatioun, he is able to furniſh ſuch an armie as ves ſein this laſt yeare, for one exploit in ſevin or eight yeares; yit yt is eaſie to any vho knoveth th'eſtait of Spaine, to conſider him not to be able to maintaine the ſame yearlie, in reſpect vhairof he juſtly accountes for preſervacioun of his commoditie from the Yndis, he muſt be perpetually maſter of the ſea. To the vchich he is never able to attein, onleſs he have on this ſyde of Europe, in Germanick ſea, ſome commodious and capable portes for building and preparatioun of great and other veſchells neceſſarie for that effect: ſeeing in all the coſtes of his dominiouns, either on the great ocean, or yit on the Mediterran Yberick ſea,

He muſt have cap-
able portes in the
Germanick ſea.

he hes fearlie vood fufficient to build one fchippe. In the Germanick fea, he can pretende for noe other capable portes except them of his ouin countryes, Holland and Zeland, prefentlie in revolt from him, for avoyding tyrannie (as faid is), whom alfo he is never able to drawe fully to his obedience, and to make to ferve his tourne vithout he be affurit of England; becaufe, being deftitute of all fecours from other Princes, efter the death of the Duke of Alançon, they maid offer of themfelfis and thair fervice to the Quein of England, and, amongft other conditiouns, ingagit for their fidelitie their cheif ftrenthis; vvhich fhe acceptit, and yet keeps them in her handes, and received thois countryes in her ouin protectioun. So, that nou yt is not poffible for them to revolt, although they vould; yea, albeyt they might revolt, thair fea forces fhould be altogether inutile for the King of Spaine, be reafon of the Straites, vvhair his forces being the farre ftronger, lyeis betuein him and them, and ever fchall impeafche thair joyning. And on th'other pairte, to drawe England from Holland and Zeland, he findeth greater difficultie yet, being from the beginning a pairt of the furetie of thair ouin eftaite, vvhich thay confidderit not fo veale of before, as at this tyme. Neither ver they tyed to fuche neceffitie, for in King Charles the 9th his tyme of Fraunce, thair ves a treatie betuein the faid King, the Quein of England, the Princes of Germanie, and th'eiftates of the Lou Countries; vvhare, be all thefe Princes yt ves founde the King of Spaine to be a verie dangerous neybour, in refpect of his greatnes, and thairfore, upon the offer of th'eiftaites to thair fubjectioun, it ves thought meit, rather be a concurrence of Princes then any one of them, that th'offer fhould be acceptit, and fo concludit that the King of France fhould have feafit vith Flanders, Arthois, and Henault; the Princes of Germanie vith Brabant, and the countries adjacent, and for them the Prince of Aurange fchould have bein deputed Governor; and the Quein of England, vith Holland and Zealand. Vvhich treatie effectuat not, for that fche vould not that tyme enter in offence againft the King of Spaine, albeyt yt ves concludit to be the furetie of her eftaite, like as fche hath founde fince, and in convenient tyme did remead her former error; for if this laft year thois countries haid not bene at her devotion, and her forces in thair cheif portes, yt may be eafilie conjectured in vvhath danger

He must be affurit
of England.

A pairte of the
suretie of th'estaite
of Eng. the protec-
tion of Holland and
Zealand.

Queen of England
loth to irritat the
King of Spain.

1588—The dissipation of the Spanish armie, the laik of a commodious receptioun.

The alteration of the present estait of England.
England and Spaine irreconciliable.

Difficulties in the alteration of the present estaite of England.

Difficulties in the person of the Queen of Scots.

her estaite schould have fallen by the Spanishe armie, which being greater then th'English, ves not only dissipated for the vant of a commodious receptioun: which tyeth her strictlie to retein Holland and Zeland as a pairt of her suretie, vhairof yt necessarily follovethe, to have Holland and Zeland serving for the King of Spaine his use, he must be assurit of England, because he cannot have th'one with out th'other: A matter altogether impossible, except the present estaite thereof be alterit, both for the diversitie in the religioun, and for th'inimitie which hes already taken so deip roote on his pairt, for the great injuries he alledges him to have receivt of England; and on the pairt of the present estaite of England, for th'open revenge evidently intendit for the vreck and overthrow thair of: so that all hope of reconciliatioun is cuttit away, and th'one must subdue th'other, which plainely declaris the King of Spaine can noe wayes be assured of England, without th'estaite thair of be chainged. And albeyt th'estaite thair of ver changit, and put in the handes of any the just titulars of that Crowne, he findeth himself in as great difficultie as of before: for the King of Scotland being the first, he sees in him the same impediment is both in religioun, and other wayes, which is in the present estaite. Like as he sees in all th'others pretending right of successioun to that Crowne, vherat noe man schould mervell, seeing he could never finde a competencie in the person of the Quein of Scotland, sche being of his ovin Catholick Roman religion; for yt ves proponit during her being in England, that to be assurit of th'estaite in England, yt ves sufficient suretie for the King of Spaine to assist her to attayne to that kingdom; yit he, weying her efter his ovin humor, knowing her to be a vyse princeesse, esteimit sche would respect her ovin advantage more nor his suretie, and preferre *utile honesto*: and thairfore he thought be her preferment he ves no wayis assurit of the estaite of England, which, without doubt, ves the cause that stayit him so long from attempting against England, for feare to put her in good caire. For remead vhairof her freinds in France, with concurrence of some of her ovin subjects thair, devisit an apparent contentment, and proponit a double marriage betuein herself and the King of Spaine, his Maiesty her sonne and the said King of Spaine his second daughter; which noe wayis contented the King of Spaine, for

he allegit yt ves some shadou of furetie for himfelfe, but not for his founne or fucceffors, feing the King of Scotland being a Proteftaunt prince, ves to fuceid his Mother; and to obviat that, her frendes thought convenient that the King her founne fould be fende in Spaine to be brocht upp in the Catholick religioun. Bot their matters drew to fuch lenth, be flow deliberacioun of her freindes in France, and doutfome expectatioun of the King of Spaine, that, in the mid tyme, fche unhappilie died. Since vvhich tyme the King of Spaine yit advifed and founde yt meiter for his veil, be reafon of his aige, to be yit affured of England, then to intend the conquest of yt; in refpect the matter cannot bot fall in great lenth, and being deceffit in his olde aige, his death may caft his holle dominions loufe, chieflie his moft affured fubjects being imployit in fo longfome a varre; and thairfore, did once againe deliberat to fie if he could be affured of England, the King of Scotland yit being in poffeffioun of yt; bot in th'ende fand noe more certainties that vaie, nor he did finde at his firft advifement, when the Quein of Scotland ves yit living. And thairfore he concludit that a neceffitie for his ovn furetie constraint him to the conquest of England. Vvhairupon resultit a greater difficultie, for he fand yt a verie hard matter, and almoft impossible, to conquieft England, without affiftance of Scotland; firft, be reafon England is fo veile fortified on the holle fea coftes, that his armie dare not hazard to difcend on yt; nixt, be reafon of the amitie and league ftanding betuein the two Princes and countries, vvhairby th'one is bound to affift th'other. So that he, not being affurit of Scotland, muft be inforced to provyd als great armie almoft for yt as for England,—a matter very difficill and impossible, feing vvhath tyme and chairdges he hes confomed for the preparatioun of one, and that his aige and ficknes permitts noe protraction of tym. And thairfore the remead of this difficultie he fand, that it ves to feik Scotland, either in alluring the King himfelf, or then, according to this accuftomat procedor, be corruption, or faire promifes, to allure a faction to his effect, of the fubjects vvitin the fame.

If he fould have foucht the King, he behoveth to deale vvit him, either fimplie, conditionallie, or politicklie. Simplie, he could not deale, becaufe he fand yt altogether repugnant to his diffinge of the conquest of Eng-

Conquest of England be a neceffite.

No conquessing of England without concurrence of Scotland.

Thrie vwayes to feik the King of Scotland.

land, (as faid is), seeing the King of Scotland is just titular to the successioun of the Crowne thair of. It was advifed, thairfore, to fute the King conditionallie, in offering him assistance in revenge of his Mothers death, and all landes and possesiouns which ever apperteinit to any King of Scotland, nor annixit to the Crowne of Englande. But thairin he ves resolvit be some Scottis man, the matter to touch the King of Scotland, so farre in princelie honor, that he could not accept of yt; and foe yt ves thought expedient it should not be proponit. As lykevays he fand yt ves not his fuertie, being just titular to the holle; which made the King of Spaine resolve to fute the King of Scotland only politickly, and to let him knav nothing of the treuth, bot only his pretextuall causes, and making him beleif that his intention ves only revenge of the Queins death, and of his ouin particuler griefes.

In this politick deliberation the King of Spain continueit a long tyme, efter the death of the Quein, hoping that matters should not have been packed upp betuein the Quein of England and the King of Scotland. Bot hov foun her Embassadors ver recevit in Scotland, he fand that policie coulde noe longer serve him, and thairfore concludit the King ves no longer to be fought, but the subjects to be steirit upp to a factioun, yit not all, but such as ver suspect in religioun, and malecontentit of th'estait. And to that effect, thair ves send into Scotland divers Jesuists, who first superficially brake the matter; nixt, Robert Bruce and one Capitain Foster ver send, with some quantitie of gould, to distribute be th'advise of the Jesuists. Yit finding little effect, the gould ves not distribute be them unto the tyme the Bishopp of Dunblaine came into Scotland, who had bene 4 or 5 monethes in Paris, avaiting for advertisement. Efter him ves sende Colonel Simple, who, having full power of the Duck Parma be the Bishopp his advyse, causit Robert Bruce to corrupt with the gould fundry noblemen and gentillmen, and movit them to the last yeares attemptats, chieflie to th'infurrection in the North, which, throu feiblenes of the principalls, tuck such effect, as did thair Spanissh armie. The dissipation vhairof having animat the Spaniard to the extreme prosecution of his intendit diffing, maks him noe less diligent, be the seditious Jesuists and others his factious agents, to procure within this realme

The indutifull subjects of Scotland steirit upp be the King of Spaine. Jesuists beginners of all sedition.

The King of Spain his agents als busie this year as the last.

at this tyme a corrupted number of noblemen and others then of before: yea, and thairto he is more bent, being acquaintit hov necessarrie th'aide of such a faction in Scotland shall be for obtayning his intente, havand by experience founde that the favour of Scotland micht have bene sufficient safetie to his holle navie, disperfit by a blaste of contrarie vinde fend doune from God; whom he knavis to be als michtie this year as the last, which pouffis him now the more earnestlie to offer to the factionars villinglie, all kinde of secours that the last yeare be them ves craivit, and not obteynit, as veile of men as of money, vhairof alreadie a pairt they have recevyt, and farther is promisit to their contentement; as in like manner secours of men in caice neide beis, providing they first schall frankelie goe fordvert to satisfie his expectation, which they have promisit. And vhat conventiouns, vhat privie meittings, vhat quyit traffick, is amongst themselfis, and vhat daylie persuasions are used to seduce others not yit of thair opinion, is so notorious throvout Scotland, that I desist in any forte to fasche the reader in perticularizing the same. So that be this Discours, all men may evidentlie sie the only dissigne of the King of Spaine for conservation of his monarchie and estaite, to be the conquest of England, and consequentlie of Scotland, as plainly appeiris be his not dealing with his Maiesties self, nor craving his ovin benevolence and concurrence, bot steiring up a forte of his Maiesties factious subjects to serve for the tyme his intent; which I dout not, if he ver in Scotland, he should substantiouflie obviat, as his paynes, valor, and diligence this last yeare may easilie move all men to thinke. And thairfore, yt is meitest, in his absence, that all his deutifull subjects should to thair abilities concurre amongst themselfis, and vith th'estaite of England, according to the vill and inclinacion which they have sein in his Maiesty, for defence of the libertie of th'Ylle, in respect of his interest to the holle, and in respect that noe honest Scottisshman can think bot it is better to have an Englishman neybour then a Spaniard maister.

Conclusion.

Deuty of the subjects of Scotland in the Kings absence.

Nou, for the better ease and information of the reader, I have sett downe brieflie the somme of the holle Discours in this epilogue following.

1. The Spaniard attempts against England for the conservation of his ouin estaite and monarchie.

2. The confervation of his estaite and monarchie depends upon the prefervation of the commodities he doeth reteir from the Yndis.

3. The prefervation of the commoditie he doeth reteir from the Yndis, confiftis in that he be perpetuallie maifter of the feas.

4. That he be maifter perpetuallie of the feas, yt is neceffarie that he have fully fubjection of Holland and Zeland, his ouin naturall countrys

5. To have fullie fubjection of Holland and Zeland, yt is requifite he be affurit of England.

6. To be affured of England, th'estait of it muft be changit.

7. Th'estait of yt being changit, and yt to fall in the handes of his Maieftie of Scotland, or any having juft intereft, he fhall be in no better caice, and finde noe further fuertie, then be the prefente estaite: thairfore, his fuertie craivis the conquest of yt.

8. The conques of England, vithout th'aide and concurrence of Scotland, it is difficill and almost impoffible, fo he findes Scotland is to be focht.

9. To feik Scotland, yt muft either be in the perfon of the King, or then be fteiring upp a faction of feditious fubjects to favour his courfe.

10. To feik Scotland in the perfon of the King, yt muft be either fimplie, conditionally, or politickly.

11. Simplic he cannot feik the King, becaufe yt repugnis to his diffigne.

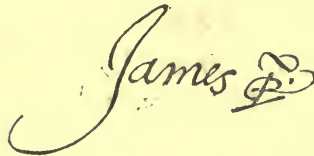
12. Conditionally to feik the King of Scotland, his princely honor permitts not on his pairt that he fchall accept of any condition; and on the King of Spaine his pairt, his fuertie permitts not to have the King of Scotland, being juft fucceffor, to be his neighbour.

13. To feik the King of Scotland politicklie, he findeth he cannot, be reafon of his good vill and affection tovardis the Quein, and prefente estait of England: and foe concludeth, noe vayes the King bot the fubjects of Scotland to be foucht, lyk as prefentlie he doeth.

Be this his Maieftie may fie formally concludit the Spaniards diffigne, alwayes groundit for his ruyn, and his veyle and ftanding repugnant to the King of Spaine his diffigne. Thairfor, himfelf haith to confidder of his ouin estaite and furetie; and his fubjects, in his abfence, to doe that which villinglie he vould performe, in caice he ver prefente himfelf. 26 Feb.

KING JAMES VI. TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

TRUSTY AND WEILBELOUIT COUNSALLOUR, We greit yow hairtlie weill: Being resolwit to pas in propir persone toward þe north partis of our realme, at þe tyme preseryuit, ffor prosequitoun of þe papist Erllis and vpairs trublaris of þe quiet esteat of þe cuntrey, according to our last proclamatioun direct pairanent, necessar it is, That befor our taking iornay sum resolutioun off our Esteatis be had quhat preparatiounis is requisit pair-to; quhilk hes mowit ws, ryght effecteuillie, to desyr yow to meit ws at Edinburgh vpone þe xxvj of Apryll instant, ffor your gud adwyis and opinioun to be gewin anent sik preparatiounis as ar neidfull for our said iornay, as ye will kyth your zeall and dewtifull affectioun toward þe furtherance of þe godlie and honest actioun, and will do ws speciall gud plesour and feruice. Sa, lippinning assuredlie for your preceis keiping of þe dyet, We commit yow to God. Frome Stirling, þe xvj of Apryll, 1594.



To our trusty and weilbelouit
Counfallour, the Master of Gray.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO MR JOHN LINDSAY, OF BALCARRAS.²

MY LORD, I haue fend vith this all I promist, and fume forther. Receaue the Affociatioun, the ordre of the Quene her accusatioun, the vrytis found;

In nombre sex,
subscryuit be
the Counsell of
England.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

² From the original among the Balcarras Papers, vol. vi., in the Advocates Library. A fac-simile of this letter is given as a frontispiece to this work.

befyd this, to let you knou hou maiters past, I haue fend you a lettre of the Quene, vrottin to his Maiestie her sone; Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King; the articles he craueit in her name. Sindrie other thingis I haue, quhilks villingly I would let you see, bot in my abfence it ver hard to commit them to the receptioun of any my feruantis. As for thir, it will please your Lordship copie them, and ether fend them, or delyuer them to my vyf in my abfence: I would haue bein loth to haue fend some of theis to many vithin Scotland.

I vill requyft your Lordship caufe fend me a copie of your Discours DE JURE ANGLICANO, quhilk I fau in Falkland.

My Father is fommonit to be in Linlythco the 22, befor the Counfell. His inhabilitie to all men is knouin; as for the maiter, he refufit not, bot the ordour ves not formell, nether haid the officer any chairdge, nor fufficient miffiue, as your Lordship vill fee. Therfor, I pray your Lordship hould hand that he be not forther troublit then the receauing of the pledge, quhilk he will do villingly, he being presentit according to the Act of Parliament. I recommend it then to your Lordships patrocinie.

Receaeue a lettre of the King of France, an vther of the Duke of Guife to the King, only for the formes. I forgot, when I directit my feruant to Edinburch, to tak the key of my cabinet, quhilk is the caufe I fend not the buk of Styllis, bot it fhallbe vith you in Lythcoe, or fchortly efter. To quhilk and ever I commit your Lordship to Godis holy protection. Dundie, this 15 Sept. 1596.

Your Lordships louing freind to commaund,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'John Gray'.

To his honored freind,
My Lord Secretairie to
His Maiestie.

It vill please your Lordship to remember, that the Lordis of Inchmartin and Kinnard receaue no rigour.

Receaue 15 pieces to be copeit, and delyuerit to my Vyf.

Inuentour of vrytis delyuerit to the Secretaire, 15 Sept. 1596.

A copie of ane lettre of the Quene of Scotland to her Sone.

Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King.

Fontainie his Articles in the Quene her name to his Maieftie.

Copie of the Englifch Affociatioun.

The caufes of condemnatioun of the Gentlemen arreynit.

The names of the Affyfe.

Reafouns for the Quene of Scotland.

Reafouns contrarie.

The forme of proceeding agentf her.

Sex letteres fubfcriyuit be the Counfell of England.

In nombre 15.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, What I haue written to you, in þe inclofed, I defire fhould be treuly feen to þe King; for I am refolued to come no nearer, then by my demonstratiue courfes in my fervices without infinuation in particuler, or acompting (by apology) further then to þe confcience of an honeft fervant to my deereft Soveraine, and a good patriot to my Contry; which refolution, (with þe vieu of my actions,) fhall cleare me to the world temporall, and fave me at þe day of Judgment, where I fhall dare to pleade þat in my foule there neuer entred bafe or malicious practife againft him; whose hart I prefume (being guyded by God, who is þe ruler of Princes,) will

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. It bears neither address nor date, although it evidently appears to have been written towards the end of autumn 1600.

be as soon satisfied by his divine influence, as by any vulgar or subordinate addresses or flatteries of mine. To you, I yield thanks for your good will, and because I would have you return me such an answer as may still satisfy my Mistress, that you did but propound it *de bene esse*, (and with desire that the Queens mynd should approve it, for whose service you wished it especially,) let your answer reply in that stile; saying, that I need not dislike you, (nor the Queen dislike your counsels in it). But I pray you, Sir, let the King, in any case, see my letter, and in your letter return his true answer, for I will shew it to the Queen what ever it be.

For the Duke of Nevers, he is gone back, and shewed here no purpose to go further northward, for which the Queen took his visitation the more grateful, and I dare say of that she kept no counsel to him self. For your sake, be sure I will have no idle thoughts in that business; but I can not yet answer you directly, for, as much lies in the forme as the matter, and I may peradventure better carve you out a pece of work then your cousin Grey can, for land is land, and lease is land in valuation: but of this I can write no more certainty yet, then of mine owne desires; vpon your next dispatch I shall be readyer. In the meane tyme, what Hamilton brings I know not; but I do love the man, and have no purpose to do otherwise. For the Duke, what he sends I know not, but sure I am, my pen shall reply to none in Scotland (if not by order) but your self, (I meane persons of rank and place). Sir, I assure you, the noble man is very worthy, and I do wish the King had more such well tempered subjects. For the Kings owne addresses hither, or dayly dispatches from hence, I can not read the riddle; but I think suerly as you do, they are all but visions of idolls, offered and multiplied to him by such as desire thanks. For the other 2, that still misleade him from believing iustly of me, they are wise, and were to blame, if they should not maintaine their owne former principles, *sed jacta est alea*; onely I am sorry to see by you, that all is fish that comes to nett, and that it is so easy for men about a Prince to make him value poor silly fellows for men of use, because they are painted to him to be men that have place or credit here (as you say) with the Queen or her Counsaile, a matter not strange to me. If that be true which you do write, that the King thinks Ladies can do him also such pleasure, swerly I can hardly

think it to be treu that þe Lady you write of doth or can write to him. Think not þat her Father knoues it, for, God knoues, he wold treade her vnder his feet, rather then therby to adventure his fortune for þe present, thogh, in my foule, otherwise he dreames of no practife. Let me knou, therefore, Sir, treuly, what is treu, and I will take it for a courtesy, and vse it like a gentleman. When your Son comes I will do þat which you shall think fitt for me to you, who shall ever find me,

Your affured frend,

Ro. CECYLL.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO CARDINAL BORGHESE.¹

IN Scotiâ, tumultuosè omnia fatis apparent; et ministri Calviniani fatis adhuc et possunt et præfunt. Rex, ut potest, non pro religione, sed pro læsâ suâ majestate, et autoritate, in contrarium aliquo modo nititur. Quæ, pro Rege, Romæ acta erant, elapsâ hyeme, Regina Angliæ non minus sunt nota quam ipsis actoribus, incitiâ fortè negotiantium. Itaque, non video quod quæ Regis nomine asserabantur, præstari possint; neque quod vera sint, præcipuè de ipsius religione. *James*, verè cum Catholicis favere puto, cum nihil contra suam ipsius voluntatem adhuc moliti sunt.

Comes Gourius cum fratre, præfente ipso Rege, trucidati sunt: At, de eâ re, quod adhuc nihil comparuit, incertè relinquo. Quæ mihi scripsit quidam aulicus, hic accipe; et, pro interprete, utere Jacobo Scaveo, Scoto.

¹ From the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 114, where it is thus marked: 'The Master of Gray to Cardinal Borghese, from London, 12 Cal. Novemb. 1630, sent to the Nuncio at Brussels.' The date 1630 is evidently a mistake, as the letter must have been written shortly after the slaughter of the Earl of Gowry, which happened in August 1600.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I haue now receaued your lettre of the 16th, written before a shorth lettre of mine to Raph Grey, bearing date þe 16th, came to yowr hands, wherby yow may perceauē my silence greu not owt of any loofe regard of those things which yow haue recomended, (either concerning your self or others;) for it is treu, þat hither came such a multiplicity of reports, by some of your owne nation, some þat you were fledd into France, others þat yow had ben in a privat combatt flaine, as I was full of anxiety, and desirous to know where my lettre shold find yow. But, Sir, I pray yow now receauē herewith þe treuth of all þe proceedings in this vnlucky matter which hath ben recomended hyther to þe Queen. First, I must needs tell yow, that þe Queen still brandleth in her mind, owt of an irremouēable jeloufy, þat howsoever the sutes concerning the brethern and sisters of Gowry haue ben sent hyther vnder a vaile of secrefy, that þe King him self is not ignorant of it; but rather, þat he letts it runn on by others, to discouer whyther any of þe former malicious imputations vpon þe Queen in þat matter, (because his fact succeeded his passadg by this Court,) might be discouered by any extraordinary succceeding fauour from hence, especially to those with whom she neuer held any correspondency; wherein, as God (þe Father of Heauen) knoweth, how farr she was from any thought or act of participation, so I must plainly say to yow, (for she speakes it evry day,) þat þe carriadg of the busines hyther hath ben so contrary to þe reservednes desired there, as it hath much stuck in her Maiesties mynd; and so much þe rather becawse the subject of þe request was to comend a Lady, a person of honour, of note and quality, to serve her; which her Maiesty still repeateth to be a matter so well knowen vnto you, to be farr from her mind to grant, as you cold haue made þe answer before the question. This, Sir, is the substance of all þat I cold draw from a mynd

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter appears to have been written in 1601.

resolved to suspect all things that come *ab Aquilone*, and treu it is, that I dyd neuer hold it but as an vnfortunate fwte; for first, myne owne Soverain, who hath judgment to discern that to please the Queen there is not to be farther of another day from the Kings favour, wold easily suspect that whatsoever I dyd, (more then belongs meerly to my place, which is to receaue and retourn lettres,) in furthering any desires from thence, cold hardly be severed from some creeping desire in me to become gracious to the future. Next, for the Queen that is there, who knowes me not but by heare say, she, finding no better success, may be apt to suspect that I haue not dealt as I shold do; in which confyderation I was willing to lett the othre lettre to my Lady Warwick go on, both because the Queen might be moved by some other as well as my self, (and indeed, the matter and person confydered, fitlier serving her sex then another;) next, I knew it wold make the Queen the more assured that all hope was not only in me but in others: all which notwithstanding, her Maiesty hath retourned plainly a negative in that matter, both to her and me, and hath desired also to be excused in this matter without ill interpretation. This answer was made some 6 dayes since, and on the neck of it I haue receaued your last dispatch, in which two lettres were inclosed, which, till this day, I cold not deliuer, for I haue ben sick this good whyle, thogh now come well to Court, which greu lately by a relapse after a late keping in vppon a great cold. To this, Sir, being of another forme, directed to the Queen her self, I can make no present answer; for, first, the lettres are newly deliuered; next, her Maiesty will answer this with her owne hand; and yet because I wold not, in desire to advertise all advertise nothing, I think good to impart vnto yow thus much by this present. Th' agent Nycolson advertised hyther that Scotland ronge of fauours don to th'Erl Gourys sifter; some that I had intelligence with her vnderhand, by the Queens direction; others that the Queen maintained her. And of this subiect I know not almost who spake not, wheruppon the Queen willed the Agent there to advertise the King, that treu it was she had ben in London, and some Ladyes about her, (because she was a Lady,) pitied her, but she had neuer giuen her access, nor wold meddle with those that were, (by his protestation so much disagreeable to him;) and this loose tale was all that Nycolson had in chardge, with which the King, as it seemed, was well satisfied. And thus, hauing

now related all I know, it remaines þat I add this, þat I must chaleng of yow, (whose destiny hath ben to bring me into this rugged path,) first, to make my case your owne, and then to remember þat which your owne self wrote, þat servants to great Princes must make no vowes, and therefore other mens good wills must not be censured by [ill] successes. Next, þat as your self do find in your mind an inward affection (befyds loialty) to þe vertewes and comandments of þat Princess, so yow will imagine of me, (whose obligation is more infinite then any can be to his Soverain, because I am þe creature of her hands,) þat in whatsoever I may not hafard þe grieving of her mind, (which it wold be if she thoght I had a thoght beyond her,) I will alwaies be ready to do þat Queen service; not because she is Queen of Scotts, and so yow may think I hold my self in pollicy tied to ingratiat myself, but because she is a noble Princess, full of honour and constancy, and hath trusted me: with which I now must end this lettre, and ever rest honestly,

*Your affects
made from
La. Cecyll*

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I haue answered most of þe contents of your 3 lettres in this other lardg discourse, and haue also let yow know what we do in these southern

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. The signature to this letter is crossed by several strokes of the pen. The 'lardg discourse' alluded to is apparently the following letter, in another hand, though in some parts bearing Cecyll's own corrections. The date, 1602, is marked on the back; and from the reference which is made to certain events, it has undoubtedly been written early in that year.

parts of þe world. It remaineth now þat I do shortly let yow knou in this lettre þat there is not an vntreu word in þat to my knoledg; and next, þat for my offer, (rather to be yowr pledg for þe maintenance of your Sonn¹ abroad, till your owne meanes better served you,) then to driue you for such a tryfle to resort to her Maiesty, (my state neuer so ill forting with my affections as to be to seek for such a courtesy to a gentleman of qwality, and my freend, as I hold you to be,) you shall vnderstand þat if yow let me know whyther yow will haue his payments assigned either to Roan or to Paris, I will cause a Bill to be sent or deliuered to whom yow will apoinct me by your next lettre, wherby he shall be deuly payd of (400) Crownes yearly, by half yeares portion, for which he shall haue his first half yeares assignation before hand. If yow will haue this bill sent to yow eyther for Paris, Roan, Orleance, or any other cyty where exchang runneth in France, I will send it yow by post to Mr Rafe Greys; but I will not apoinct any payments to be assigned into Scotland, for of this poor molehill wold be raised a rampart for many a fool to bestow his canon vppon. And it shold be decreed þat all such courtesies, which are but feathers tossed between men of quality or ingenuity, draw with them some consequences of practise or combination, of which, I protest to þe Lord, I am resolued to discard all idle ouertures, more then to keep frendship with one or two such as your self, wherby I may be informed, without fraud, how things go; and so accomodate all things to þe preservation of amity, in which consisteth þe fælicity of þe whole Iland. For þe Erle of Marr his opposition to you so violently, it makes me wonder, because he seemed here to me to haue a mind not ill prepared for frendship; but it may be his doubt, lest yow wold part stakes with his power about his Soverain, may yeld yow þe reflexions of bitter æmulation. But to God I leaue yow, for yow haue a strange Court, and strang particularitys (me think) posess yow, so as for mine owne part I will resolute neuer to pass þe riuer of Twede, thogh if yow come hyther in his naturall tyme I will hope þat

¹ Andrew Gray, the Master's eldest son, afterwards eighth Lord Gray. He married Anna Ogilvie, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater. His father, Patrick Lord Gray, was a party to the contract, which was dated at Foullis, Dec. 3, 1608.

we fouthern men fhall rectify yow with our mild medecins, and temper the violence and inconstancy of your humours.

Ro. CECYLL.

If yow heare any expectation of our Parliament to do any wonders, take my woord þat we fhall make it an epitome, and after our fubfydy, herken to no other proiects; and belieue me, Sir, now Queen Elizabeth gouerns and not Rychard 2, as ſhe ſhold haue ben, if Henry þe 4th had prospered.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, Since your laſt diſpatches (of the 19 and 25th of July), I remayned ſtill in expectation what to heare from you; the rather becauſe I perceaued by them you weare declyninge agayne, as alſoe that I founde by ſome words in Mr Grayes lettre, that you, havinge vnderſtood of a new purpoſe in the Kynge to command you to ward, had taken the ſea; which did much greiue me, in regard of the hope I had, that your honeſt and diſcreet indeuours would haue ſett you in a better degree for the Kings favour, and whereof I was ever ſince in payne to heare the iſſue, which hath been [the] cauſe of my ſilence. Now haue I receaued from Mr Raſe Gray of the 13th of Awguſt, and in it noe mention made of that perticuler, which keepeth me ſtill in diſtraction, becauſe I know not where my lettres fhall fynde you, and yet, (for anſweare to your late diſpatches,) I thought not amiſſe to adventure theiſe. I was by your lettres informed of the Dukes imployment, and of his deſyre to know by you, (for which purpoſe Forreſt was addreſſed vnto me,) whether his comminge into England ſhould be well taken. Now, Sir, if you will know what moued me to forbear my anſweare to this, you ſhall vnderſtand, that if I had ſeene that the Duke, had depended in this perticuler only vppon my anſweare to you, I had then forthwith made a diſpatch, both becauſe it ſhould haue ap-

peared, that I esteeme my correspondency with you, (wherein the more we haue been sifted, the clearer I hope we are founde,) as alsoe that the Duke may know how farr her Maiefty is from neglectinge him, or any thinge that comes from him. But, Sir, before your lettre came to me, (at the least before Forrest arriued, after whose adrefs I was to make you answere,) here was Mr Symple of Beltrefs arrived, whoe brought a lettre from the Kynge, wherein he tooke notice of her Maiesties proceedinges with his Embassadour, and gaue her moderate thanks for all those perticulers. This gentleman allsoe dealt with me in that poynct concerninge the Duke,¹ to whom I could not haue been fylent without inconvenience. Soe as when Mr Forrest came, I only courteously receaued him, and confirmed her Maiesties good inclynation to give the Duke a good wellcome; and so thought your motion in that poynct required noe speedy answere. For Forrest, he professed good affection on the Dukes part in generall to her Maiefty, and said, if he mought receaue from me some private instructions, what I would wish him to doe now for her Maiesties service, he knew the Duke would doe it. I answered it with like complement, but told him, that his profession was generall, and soe was her Maiesties acceptation, which included all perticulers; but it was hard for her to direct him in perticuler what to doe in the negociacion, when shee knew nothinge of his instructions. Soe as her Maiefty did only recommend to his iudgment to applye himselfe to effect all those thinges which may best conferue the amyty, which she would be ready to requite. Next, Sir, for the state of thinges in Scotland, as they haue relation vnto vs: First, be assured, that more then to hearken after any courses from Scotland or in it, which may be preiudiciall to this Estate, the Queene hath noe desygne, nor for my perticuler (I protest,) but with you doe I care to hould correspondency with any (but our agent) in that kingdome. Nether doth the Kinge (as I perceaue) now propounde any new, nor we deliberate of other grounds, then by the dispatch of the Erle of Marr, and his negociation was effected, with the perticulers whereof you were acquaynted.² For the calmes in

¹ Ludovick Duke of Lennox.

² 1601, May 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Marr, ambassador, came out of England; bot non knew quherfor he was sent, nor quhat he got.—*Birrel's Diary*, p. 54.

that Court vppon this late reconciliations, (for my owne part,) I fee noe great likelihood of perpetuity, nothings beinge (in my late obseruation) more contrary to that Estate, then not to fynde varyetye in all such accidents. I am only forry, that howsoever others (not only detected but convinced) can fynde meanes to be restored, you remayne still in privation, vppon the shaddowes of such suspicions, as tyme it selfe (which is the parent of truth) hath cleared.

For the newes which we haue here, they doe consist principally in the constitution of the affayres of Ireland, and of the Low Countreyes, and there especially in the state of Ostende. For the first, her Maiesty hath dayly good and happie succeffe vppon the Rebells, whereby I make noe doubt but her Maiesty shall receaue speedy end of those troubles, if the descent of Spanish forces doe not giue a new life to that Rebellion, whereof we haue a great probability to suspect, because a Spanish fleet hath been discovered settlinge his course for that coast, foe as (vntill some further tyme) we cannot tell what iudgment to make. For Ostend, there lyeth before it a powrefull army, commanded by the person of the Archduke, whoe is opiniafre in the seidge, supported by the disunited Provinces, in an incredible proportion, with all that can be prepared for a seidge, and augmented by 8000 men out of Italy. In the towne we haue bodyes enough, for there are 5000 English, besyds Dutch, but the place is not well fortified, nether is the earth within it proper for reintrenchments; Soe as although (accordinge to the ould rules) many a playne Captayne would argue the impossibility to haue it taken, where there are foe many fouldyers, as might safely make the enemy a breach, yet we see it dayly, that now great commanders that haue new experience in beseidginge, and can carry their trenches before them, and are foe well furnished with store of artillery, as they haue often commodity to dismount their cannon within, doe alwayes, by sapping, eate into the rampart, and so carry townes in the ende; towards which misfortune, (if foe it should happen,) the absence of the Generall Vere¹ is a great helpe, whoe comminge in, after the enemy

¹ Sir Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey Vere, and grandson of John Vere Earl of Oxford. He was constituted general of the army of the States, and maintained with great vigour the defence of Ostend against the Spanish forces in 1601.

had been many dayes before it, did yet rayfe divers outwoorkes, thereby to wynn tyme, before he would only be putt to the defence of the walls. This gallant jentleman, after many fallyes, receaued a hurt in the head with a cannon fplynter of the towne, which was broken by an other from the campe, and grew foe dangeroufly into fevers, as the furgeons all protested he was loft if he remoued not; becaufe the contynuall volleys of cannon, booth within and without, did shake the brayne, then which there can be noe greater enemy to the wounds in the head. He is now at Middleborough, from whence he is to retourne foe foone as he is able. In the meane tyme, the States haue sent in (for a further fupplye) Monfr. Chattilion with certayne troupes of French, and the Collonell of the Scottifh regiment, with his companies, befyds a third regiment, which they call the Guefes, whoe weare thofe which revolted in the Fort of St Andrew at Bommell. All which troupes made vpp two thoufande, foe as there are aboute 7000 in the Towne, and (*sub figillo confessionis*) I am playnly of opinion that it will be carried with tyme. Wherein it is not in our power to interrupt them, for that muft be done with a powrefull army, which the States haue not. Thus haue you now as much newes as I can tell you, wherewith I end for this tyme, wifhing to heare of you, that you are in your Soveraynes favour.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, althogh I haue forborn to answer fome off your lettres, fince his Maiefties happy comming to pe Crowne, becaufe fome fals and idle

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter bears no date, but it must have been written after Sir Robert Cecyll was created Earl of Salisbury, which was in 1605. It is evidently intended for the Master of Gray, who undoubtedly succeeded his father in the year 1608, if not previously, (although *Douglas*, in his Peerage, gives the year 1609 for that event). This accounts for his being addressed as 'My Lord.' By a charter dated March 10, 1608, (confirmed by King James VI., *Mag. Sig. L.* 45, fo. 157,) the Master, under the title of 'Patrick Lord Gray,' gives *Marie Stewart, Lady Gray, his spouse*, the liferent of the dominical lands of Foullis, &c.; which proves that he must have been then in possession

shaddowes were cast vpon our former correspondencys, which time (þe parent of trewth) hath made as cleer to þe world, as it is to our owne fowles, to haue ben free from any vnhoneſt ends: yet, leſt þat might be thought to proceed from ſome ill impreſſion, which hath ben only th'effect of cawtion, (not to be miſjudged in the firſt eſtabliſhment of my fortune, which hath only prospered by þe treu and princely judgment which his Maieſty vſed, when there was queſtion what is chaff and what is corn,) I haue thought it now, leſs then þe deu to our precedent frendſhip (contracted ſimply and only for þe advancement of his Maieſties higheſt and iuſteſt deſires,) to let you know by this beſt convoy, of mine owne hand, both what I am to my ſelf and to you. Firſt, Sir, I muſt need acknoledg þat if I ſhall preferr any privat end of mine before his Maieſties ſervice, I deſerve to be wyped owt of þe book of lyfe, for (my Lord) neuer ſervant ought ſo much to King or Maſter. Secondly, I confeſs þat it is my ſecond ambition to be able to ſerve my freends in all honeſt occaſions. I pray your Lordſhip therfore conclude, þat it is neyther change of fortune, nor diſtance of place, which can make me proud or forgetfull, and therfore, let no doubt ſurpriſe yow þat I am not very ready to do you any frendly office. And for the contents of 2 of your laſt lettres, (one by Mr Panmeur, another by this bearir,) let this ſerve for answer. When yowr pen ſhall tell me yow are ready for your journey, I ſhall be as ready to procure yowr lycence. For your deſire þat I wold freend þe yong gentleman, I haue made him know my frendſhip towards yow, and therfore affured him of my reſpect to yowr recomendation, and thogh it be hard to draw water where þe poole is ſo exhawſted, yet hath he had ſome reſreſhing as þe time wold ſerve, and therin muſt I do him right, þat it is farr vnder his owne meritt.

Laſtly, my Lord, for þe ſubiect wherof this gentleman ſhold haue ſpoken, (by þe creditt of your lettre,) let me tell you þat I ſhold haue ben of little uſe in þat perticuler; for, althogh I found by him þat yowr owne judgment of þe chang of his eſtate had made yow change yowr propoſition, yet (my

of the family eſtate and title. This deed alſo expoſes another error of *Douglas*, who makes William Gray of Bandirrane the *ſon*, inſtead of the *brother*, of Patrick ſeventh Lord Gray. He is a witneſs to that deed, in which he is deſigned, '*Will. Gray de Bandirrane fratre germ. dicti Pat.*'

Lord) his condition before þe change was fuch as exceeded þe limitts of my walks, which are alredy to lardg for me to extend further, hauing more to take care of then is either safe for my fortune, or likely for me to difchardg, as I defire to do, where I ow fo much, as I know when I haue don all I can do, þat I fhallbe but an vnprofitable fervant. And thus hauing now presented to yow both þe mynd and fortune of yowr old acquaintance, I end fo, and will continew,

Your affured frend,

R. SALISBURY.

If your journey depend vppon your health, I fhallbe gladd it may ftay.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, Such is the difference and diftinction between the neceffarye correspondencies and formall courtesyes which paffe between abfent freinds, as I fhall not neede to fay much for my filence, after foe often exchange of lettres, nor for my writinge now after fo longe filence; feeing the change of tymes bredd the firft alteration, and the accidents arifinge fince haue miniftred new occafion. For, as you lived then foe neere that fountayne, from whence this kingdome was to expect that peace and fafetye only, (which rann fuch a hazard in the declyninge adge of the late Queen, my gracious miftrefs, of happie memorye,) as it became everye honeft man, in dutye and difcretion, to imbrace and cherifh all that could or would giue vs here ether light or meanes to preferue the fame, efpecially my felfe, whom practife had foe deeply wronged, and jealousye (infeperable from her fex and difpofition, whose only creature I was till her laft breath,) foe much amated, as I durft fcarfe take hould of any way or meanes, dyrectly or particulerly, to exprefs my inocent affections to the higheft

¹ From the original, written in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library.

there, for feare to be suspected here. Soe, when it pleased God (in the due tyme) to giue vs him, for whom we longed, (and with him such a world of happines and ornament, as hath made this Iland like the foun in the firmament,) I held it none of the woorst counsells for booth of vs, to dyfcontynew the ordinarye current of our former entercourse, vntill some further tyme might cleere and fatiffye some vayne and hard impreffions of the grounds of our former correspondencie.

It remayneth, therefore, now that I acquaynt you, that where a Booke was lately published here, intituled *TRIPlici NODO, TRIPLEX CUNEUS*,¹ there is come from Rome a malicious Pamphlett in answere thereof; wherein (amonge other insolent and virulent arguments and positions) there is one passage in it, wherein the Kinge our maister is charged to haue written to the Pope and certain Cardinalls in her Maiesties tyme. Of which great scandall, I haue thought it fitt to aduertise you for diuerse respects: Firft, because it is the dutye of everye honest man (much more of men of place and qualitey) to imploye both *oleum et operam* for preservation of their Maisters person and fortune from scandall and false accusation, especially such a King, whoe accompteth his greatest strength to consist in his innocencie and sinceritey, and in such a cause, as cannot pass away in silence, without his Maiesties extreeme perill and preiudice. Towards which great and necessarye worke, on which his royall hart is soe much fixed, (and vppon soe iust grounds); though it is trew, that (amonge other of his servants) his Maiesty may expect from me more perticulerly then from any other, (in respect of my place,) some such indeuours as may further his royall

¹ This book was written by King James himself, and the answer to it by Cardinal Bellarmine. Sir George Carew, the English Ambassador, writes from France in 1608: "The book that hath been published by the title of '*Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*,' was translated into French by some here, without my knowledge. But the Nuncio, hearing of it before it was fully printed, caused the impressions, by the Chancellor's commandment, to be forbidden. Tho' I guess at the author, yet, supposing there was good occasion for omitting his name, I thought it not fit to take any notice thereof publickly, without special direction. But I find that it is marvellously well received here among the learned men of this country, and specially Monsr. de V. and such like, so as I have written to a servant of mine in London to send me over some dozen or twenty copies of the same in Latin, or in French, if that impression be ended, to distribute among them here; for diuers haue sent unto me for that purpose."—*Sloane MSS.* in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 144.

intentions; yet, (all circumstances considered), I must be playne with you, my Lord, that I conceaue noe man can be of more vse to him then you in this particuler. For which purpose I haue thought fitt to make you this dispatch, not doubting but you will willingly contribute to his Maiesties pure and iust desyres, and cooperate with me, (that am your ould acquayntance and freind,) in the furtherance of the same; the rather because it shall appeare vnto you, as well in this particuler, as it hath done formerlye, that I haue been verye vnwilling to runn long in arere for any courtesyes with any man, or intend at this tyme to propound any thing to you, which shall not be of as good vse to you as to my self, when you shall well examyne the same. Firft, his Maiesty doth well consider, that there is nothing foe vntrew, but serues the tourne for the tyme, vntill tyme and truth confute the same. If this be trew, that his Maiesty hath done what is here reported, then must his Maiesty of necessitye be held, (as he is the greatest King,) foe one of the greatest dissemblers. A wounde, (I dare vndertake,) more greivous to him then any worldly misfortune, especially when the least note or marke may be sett vppon him, for any weaknesse or doublenesse in those thinges, which haue any aspect to religion or conscience. For avoydance whereof, there is but one of theise two wayes for him to take: the one, by some discouerye or correspondencye from thence, to procure certayne knowleidge whether this be trew or noe, that there are any such lettres; and next, how the same haue been procured, to the intent that the fact it selfe may be constantly denyed, and the falshood retorted vppon the authors, if this be one in the number of their legeons of lyes; or in case they haue any such thing to shew, that there may be some meanes for his Maiesty to come to the knowleidge of those that haue foe notoriously betrayed him, in contriving such a practife, which his Maiesty knoweth can be by noe other meanes then by some surprising him vppon some sodayne, with insertinge those lettres vppon other pretences. Having now made you see how our deare Maisters honor lyes a bleeding, and made you likewise know my owne desyres and ends, which are only to declare my self noe les zealous then fortunate in this case, which concerneth him, whoe, for foe small meritts, hath multiplyed foe many more benefitts vppon me then is possible for me to deserue, and by me is held

more precious, and more deare, (if nature can add more to mans affections,) then I carryed to my late Souverayne, towards whom my loue and obligation weare foe great; I think good to remember you of that, which you imparted to me foe particulerly at your being in England, when Sir Richard Preston was here after the 5th of August, concerning the employment of Mr Dromond and some others, with lettres from the King to the Pope and the Cardinalls, for the preferment of the Bishop of Vefon, as well to confirme the truth of booth our conceipts at that tyme, that the same might be gott, by some practise, from the King; as alsoe to intreat you (that had at that tyme foe particuler notyce of all the circumstances) to acquaynt me by the next dispatch, with as many particulars as you can remember of that matter, ether concerning Dromonds part in it, or any other that had been busye agents, in obtayning or carrying the same; by whose follye, if the King wittinglie had reposed any such trust in them, I remember wee were booth troubled to thinke what would be the effect. From which we see now their mallice can noe longer hold them. Hereby you shall both add to me some better grounds to sett my owne intelligence a worke, and, if I iudg aright, doe noe ill service to your selfe, by making his Maiesty see some effect of your endeavours, even in this particuler, wherein you haue not scaped some imputation, by the charitye which some of your illwillers lent you at that tyme, as if you had been one that had dealt in the same. I haue required this bearer to attend your pleasure, and retourne to me your answere, with all speed. And foe, wishing you health and all contentment, I end.

25 7bre 1608.

*Your assured L^{ov}ing
friend*

L. Salisbury

LORD GRAY TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.¹

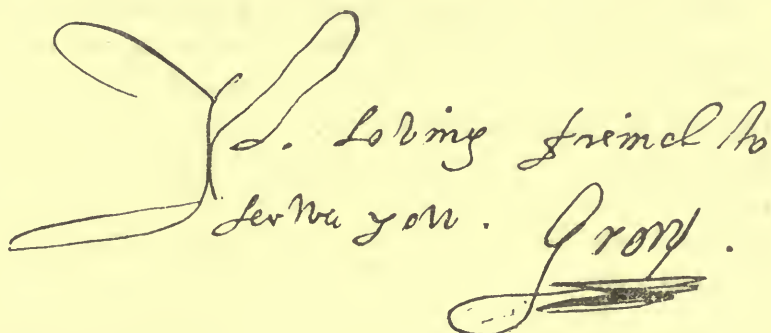
the world, and I think might say as much as trewlie in this for his Maiestie, as any now haith lyf, his Maiesties self only exceptit. Bot my health is so variable, that I dare nether promit, nor attempt any such burding. Bot his Maiesties self, with a litle cronologicall memoriall, can best informe in that erand of all within this yll. I leawe, then, to forther occasion and better memorie the pedegre of this malicious defing; and haue answert only to your Lordships first point directly, that such letteris they haue at Rome, at what tym receauit, and by whom. Now to the second, whither or no the maiter be trew or fals, appeirantly his Maiestie can best resolue that doubt; for I put it not in question bot he wilbe plaine with yow, feing God haith bliffit him (without all flatterie) with supernaturall and not comoun wit, to see as fare in his owin princely affaires as any that euer did rigne in Europe, and in being plaine, no errour can chance to a prince, bot ether may be redressit or comlie excusit. This practife can not be baptisit a treuth, without his Maiestie, be willing knowledge, haue accordit to the wryting of such letteris, the sending of them, and wittingly haue signit them. If so he haue, then easie for him is it to remember who gewe his Maiestie so pernicious a counsell. And for his Maiesties exoneration, *Sit malum concilium consultori pessimum qui peccauit in suum caput*: for, indeid, he haith mowit his Maiestie to that inconvenient which long was focht agenst his Maiestie, and yet could never be attenit vnto, nor none that euer haid credit about him durst hazard to motion; albeit it be verie weill knawin to my self, that dyuers practises haue bene lede for that propos, bothe in the tym I haid credit of his Maiestie, and in tym of my exill, and lykwayis since.² Bot for my

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter is unfortunately imperfect, the first sheet being wanting.

² The Master of Gray, while residing in Italy in 1599, had discovered King James's letter to the Pope, and transmitted a copy of it to Elizabeth.—*Robertson's History of Scotland*, 8vo., vol. 3, p. 139.

self, I fand it his Maiesties only weill to follow a contrarie courfs. So I defye all calumnies to tuitch me in that or the lyk cace, and am weill affured his Maiestie will purge me to be cleir of any futch maiter; for I never inclynit once that way, nether in counsell nor action, fince the 83 [1583] that I enterit in the English courfs at his Maiesties commandement, wherin I wes the first that ever brocht it from doubtfulnes and hardnes to that amitie which did in end effectuat all ovr happines. And if my fortune be to leiwe, I dispaire not yet to reapt for it my owin thankes: althocht, I proteft to God, I am not invyous of any manis happines. Bot I retourne to this practife: if it be fals, one of two, ether a furpryse, or then a plainly contriuit falthead. If a furpryse, easie it is for his Maiestie to divine who could performe futch a hich attemptat, and who in the 600 [1600] yeir haid autoritie or place about him to do it, for it wes to great a mote for a petit compaignzeon to hawe fwollowit. And if his Maiestie find it a furpryse, I am perfuadit, fo foun as it fhall come to the notice of the actor, he fhall condemne him self as for alredy a hangit man, and fo his Maiestie is free. If it be altogether contriuit or conterfit, meiteft it is, in my opinion, that all be keipit fecret, and a practyse layd down to draw Drommond ether into Scotland or England, which is easie to do with his Maiesties only connivence, and fo yow fhall decover *le pot aulx rofes*. Bot my owin opinion is, that altogether it is fals and contrivit: For at my being in Chillinghame, when as her lait Maiestie without her offence wold not permit me to enter in Scotland, till once I fhould come bak to her, and then to go by fea, without any neceffarie ground mowing her to it (God knoweth and your self) fave her owin pleasur, and I was lothe to difplease her; and fo maid promeis and performit; at that tym my wyf came to Chillinghame to me, and at her retourne I commandit her to fay to his Maiestie, that he haid employit verie indiscreit knaifes at Rome; which fche feallit not to fay, Drommond then being in Scotland, bak from Rome: which, all being confiderit, makes me think, if it haid not bene altogether fals, his Maiestie, on the licht I fend him, fould hawe askit Drommond. So my conceat carieth me to think, that the practifer heth abusit his Maiestie altogether. And if this be trew, his Maiestie then, efter Drommonds tryell, can eafelie not only decerne, bot lykwayis ley it af him self *cum*

decoro. Bot I fhall, fo foun as my health permittis me, on your Lordships advertifment, fend yow a litle cronologie for a memoriall of this practife from the infancie of it, for it haith bene in brewing ever fince his Maieftie put him felf in abfolut gouvernement. And yet the lyk advantage could never be haid over his Maieftie till the 600 [1600] yeir. Bot I am pre-fently ill at eafe, and I weirie your Lordship, and I doubt me greattumly, in refpect of a cawtere in my richt arme, that yow hardly fhall reid this, I thocht nocht meit to commit this fubiect to the hand of any vther bot to myn owin.

Yr. Loving friend to
serv you. Gray.

If your Lordship have occafion to wryt bak, I wold be glaid, if yow have it, that yow fould fend me the buk *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*, together with the reports from Rome: and fhall reid and retourne all.

Your Lordships lettre came to me this Sondag tymly fend by Sir William Bowyer the 2 of 8^{re}, and this fame nicht have difpetchit him; who fhall go from my howfs Fowlls, God willing, befor fun ryfing, Monday the 3 8^{er}, 1608.

The peft is become about me extreame, fo that I am to flee to Edin-bruch, in refpect of my childring, and I think it wes fum hinder to this berar; who, I think, if your Lordship have forther occafion, fhall find me at Edinbruch.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, hauing receaued an answere from your Lordship, to a letter of myne, (writtin with his Maiesties priuitye and direction); I think it my part to lett yow know what is become of the matter then in question, and how his Maiestie hathe accepted your answere.

First, yow shall vnderstand that (since the comming vp of the Lord Prefident),² his Maiestie hath fallen into direct termes with him, charging him to haue bene eyther the procurer of those Letters, or partye with those that did it, laying before him (out of the strength of his owne memory) many circumstances to confirme the same: First, he remembreth him how often he folicited his Maiestie to write vnto the Pope: Secondly, how earnest he was for the deliuerie of Sir Edward Dromount³ when he was called in question for it: Lastly, he seemed to inferre, with verie violent arguments, that, seeing there was swch a fact, and he at that tyme the onely minister of his dispatches, Keeper of his Signett, and interessed in the cause that should be recommended, he must needs conclude, that he was able to lay open the truthe with all his circumstances; adding serious protestations, that he must not expect in this case to be exempted from such course of examinations as was vsuall in such cases. That now your Lordship may perceauie what it is when Kings haue right of their fyde, (whome Almightye God, as his annoynted more miraculously preferueth and protectethe then any other of his crætures), and what it workethe when a strong witt in a King fetts it felse to search truthe, I must shortly tell yow, that this vnfortunat noble man (euen at the first surprise) gaue himfelse no lesse wound then to confesse so much of the mat-

¹ From the original, in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino.

³ See *Lord Strathallan's Genealogy of the House of Drummond* (p. 153, 1831, 4to) for an account of Sir Edward Drummond, where he is erroneously named *David*. He appears to have been cousin both to Balmerino and the Bishop of Vaison.

ter, as to haue concealed what he knew (*ex post facto*) of that action, whereof he could not denye himselfe to haue bene the propofitor, though not the originall instrument; after he had found his Maieftie took no liking of it.

When thus much had passed from him, which was onely a putting it from himselfe to Dromount, I need not tell yow how closely the King would beare vp to draw the rest. Yow know so much better then I what his Maiesties sharpe and percing judgment was lyke to do, it being sufficient for me to tell yow, that the next degreë he was brought to, was, in effect, a plaine confession of the whole fact, and the circumstances; which was no lesse then, that after he had moued his Maieftie to write, and bene refused it, he was so possessed with an opinion, that the consequence of such a recommendacion might be of good vse to him, as he could not free his thoughts of the matter till he had effected it; and therefore, hauing wrought the King to be contented to write to the Cardinall of Lorraine, Duck of Florence, and Duck of Sauoye, in the fauour of Vefon,¹ (as he should haue any occation to recommend the same), he watched his opportunitie in a morning when the King was going a hunting, and so shuffled in those letters to the Pope and those two Cardinalls vnder colour of the other, which, being once signed, he caused some spaces, which he had left in the draught of the letters, for *Serenitatis vestræ* to be conuerted into *Sanctitatis vestræ*, and (which was the bitter word indeed) did cause Sir Edward Dromount, in his Romaine hand, to write *filius* aboue *Jacobus* in the subscription, and so gaue order to put the Signett to it.

Thus hath your Lordship now the story of this vnpleasant subiect, being the discouerie of an offence of this nature in such an officer, as no Prince can escape the danger, if that priuacy of trust be ill applied. To the King this discouerye hath brought an infinite contentment, who, though he knew himselfe pure and innocent in thought and actions, held himselfe still scandalized in the world, before it pleased God to bring this to light; wherein his Maiesties owne memory hath bene the best helpe to redeeme his honor that lay at the stack, for otherwise I see not (Dromount being

¹ William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, of the family of Chisholm of Cromlix.

out of hand) how this nobleman could haue bene directly convinced of the fame; of whose case I confesse to yow, (for many good parts that were in him), I cannot but be very fory, such men being fooner lost then found; onely this I may assure yow, that vntill his Maiestie saw himselfe as clere as the sunne in the firmament, his spiritts were so full of anxietye, as, had he bene my brother, I must rather haue wished his fall then his vexation, to whome, not only as my Souerayne, but as the most dere master that euer seruant had, I owe more then any other both of lyfe and fortune. It remayneth now, my Lord, that I assure your Lordship, though your letter brought him nothing but a confirmation and reuiuing to his memory of those things that had passed in former tymes, (for which it seemed he neuer needs memorialls), and wherein I perceaued yow little dreamed of this lighting place, yett the forme of your letter gaue him so much satisfaction as he hath willed me to tell yow; that he held the fame to proceed from a hart full of honesty and affection to do him seruice; which newes no man shall make more hast to tell yow, then he shall do at all tymes, that is and euer wilbe

Your Lordships assured louing friend,



Whitehall, this 30th
of October [1608].

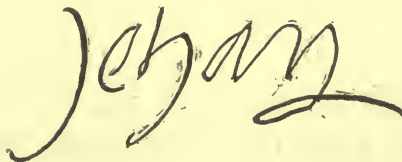
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LICENCE, JOHN DUKE OF ALBANY TO PATRICK FOURTH LORD GRAY.¹

Dux

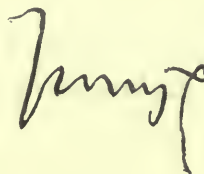
JHON, be þe grace of Gode, Gouvernar of Scotland, Duke of Albany; and for so mekyll as certane consideracions hes mowyt vs to lycent our cufyng and confiliare Patrik Lord Gray to remane at haym fra þis host, proclamyt in to þe fiftene day of August now instant; pairfor We gyfe lycence to þe said Patrik to pas haym in his awne contray, and to remane in quhat place he plesis, quhil þe parlyament þat is to be haldyng in October nyxt to come, Wee discharge þe said Patrik of þe hoste for said, and all hostis þat is to come, to þe fayd October, and it fall be na pregyteis to hys lyfe, land, or gude, to remane at haym: and We discharge hym of all thyngis þat may be imputit þairapon; þat wryt subseriwyth vith our hand, þe fourtene day of August, þe 3eyr of Gode 1^{ow} v^e and xv 3eris.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Jehan', written in a cursive, historical style.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

KING JAMES V. TO PATRICK GRAY OF BUTTERGASK.¹

WEILBELOUIT FREIND, We grete 3ow wele; fforfamekill as þat ane half of þe airschip gudis of vmquhile Patrik Lord Gray, þat last deceffit, pertains to ws throw forfaltour of Johnne Lyoun, funtyme Lord Glammiss, þat ane of þe tua airis of þe faid vmquhile Patrik, and that vþer half þairof pertains, and fuld pertene, to Andro Stratoun of þat Ilk, þat vþer of þe airis of þe faid vmquhile Patrik, and We haue disponit and gevin oure half of þe faid airschip gudis to þe faid Andro: Quhilkis haill airschip gudis 3e haue intromettit with, and hes in 3our handis and keping, OURE WILL IS heirfore, and We charge 3ow straitlie, and commandis þat, incontinent efter þe sicht heirow, 3e deliuer þe faidis haill airschip gudis to þe faid Andro Stratoun, for the caus aboue writtin, within sex dais nixt efter þe presenteng and deliuering of þir presents to 3ow, as 3e will report speciale thanks of ws þairfore, and do ws singlar emplefowr, and anfowr to ws þairupoun at 3our vter charge; keping þis writing for 3our warrand. Subscriuit with our hand at Craufurd Johne, þe xvj day of Julij, and of our Regne þe xxviiij 3eir.



To oure weilbelouit freind
Patrik Gray of Butergask, etc.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. Patrick Gray of Buttergask was afterwards fifth Lord Gray.

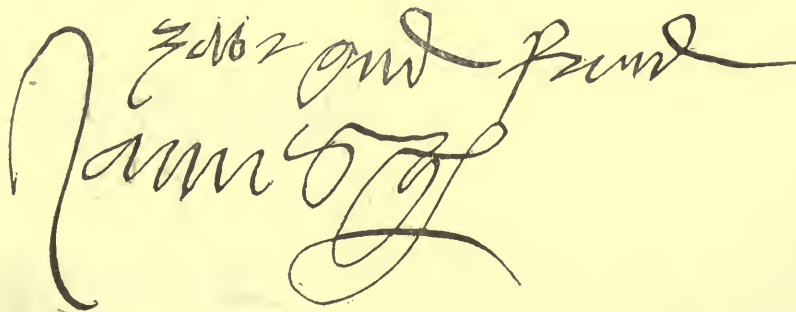
APPENDIX.

v

JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

GUBERNATOR

TRAIST COUSING, We commend ws to 3ow hartlie; fforfamekle as We ar
furelie aduertift pat diuers grete personis of þis realme, baith spirituall and
temporall, tendis presentlie tocum to þe burgh of Edinburgh, and vtheris
burrowis of þis realme, with convocatioun and gadering of þe liegis, bodin
in feir of weir, and in forme of ane army, quhilk is agains þe commoun
weill, Confidering þair is na neccessare caus quhy þe famin fuld be done;
bot, gif it be to vsurpe þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and to invaid ws,
OURE WILL is heirfore, and We charge 3ow straitlie, and commandis, in þe
Queins Gracis name and auctoritie, pat, incontinent þis oure lettre sene,
That 3e addres 3ow to be at ws in Lythquho, bodin in feir of weir, with
3our houshald, kin and freindis, with sex dayis victuall, þe xxiiij day of
Julij, for þe defens and furthbering of þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and
repreffing of þame pat wald conspire and conspiris agains þe famin, vnder
þe paine of tressoun, as 3e will anfuere to ws þairupoun. Gevin vnder
oure Signet and subscriptioun, at Edinburgh þe xx day of Julij, the 3eir
of God I^m v^c and xliij 3eris.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, likely of James Earl of Arran, written in a cursive script. The signature is written over the printed text of the letter.

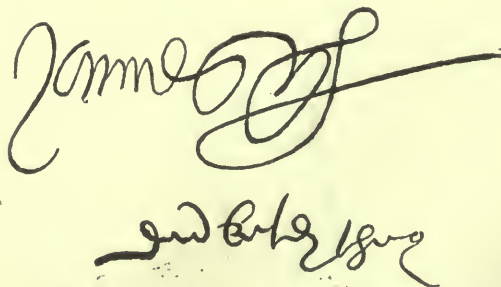
To our traift Cousing and Consalour
Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

LICENCE BY JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

GUBERNATOR

WE, for certane gude and refonable caufis moving ws for þe tyme, and ſpecialie at þe request of þe Quenis Grace, and our bruper Archebald Erle of Ergyle, has gevin and grantit, and be þir preſents, gevis and grants ane fre licence and tollerance to our welebelouit couſing Patrik Lord Gray to remane at hame him ſelf, fra þis our preſent armye convenit at Hadingtoun, þe laſt day of Junij in xlviiij ȝers, ay and quhill our ſaid bruper Erle of Ergyle cum þair him ſelf: The ſaid Patrik Lord Gray ſend- and fourthe his bruper, with his folks and freinds, to our ſaid armye; and þat nochtwithſtanding any our proclamaciones paſt afore herupoun: And will þat þe ſaid Lord Gray incur na crime of leis maieſtie þerthrow, be byding fra our ſaid armye, nor to be callit nor pwniſt in his perſoun, guds nor heretage þerfor, be þis our letter of licence, gevin vnder our ſignet, and fuſcriuit with our hand, At Liddyntoun, þe firſt day of July in xlviiij ȝers.

The image shows two handwritten signatures in dark ink. The top signature is large and elegant, written in a cursive style that appears to read 'James'. The bottom signature is smaller and more compact, also in cursive, possibly reading 'Patrick Gray'.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray.

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time but have been so busy that I could not find time to do so. I am now at home and I am well and hope you are the same. I am very glad to hear from you and I am sure you are doing well. I am sure you are very happy and I am sure you are very successful in all your undertakings. I am sure you are very kind and I am sure you are very generous. I am sure you are very brave and I am sure you are very strong. I am sure you are very wise and I am sure you are very good. I am sure you are very beautiful and I am sure you are very charming. I am sure you are very kind and I am sure you are very generous. I am sure you are very brave and I am sure you are very strong. I am sure you are very wise and I am sure you are very good. I am sure you are very beautiful and I am sure you are very charming.

Your affectionate friend
 La. B. V.

11/11/11

I am very happy to hear from you and I am sure you are doing well. I am sure you are very happy and I am sure you are very successful in all your undertakings. I am sure you are very kind and I am sure you are very generous. I am sure you are very brave and I am sure you are very strong. I am sure you are very wise and I am sure you are very good. I am sure you are very beautiful and I am sure you are very charming.

Your affectionate friend
 La. B. V.

11/11/11

APPENDIX.

vii

MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, eftir hartlie commendatioun; We ar aduertift þat þe King of Denmerks navy is ellis within our walteris in fycht of þat north coift, and becaus þe meanyng and intentioun þerof is nocht knawin to ws, for efchewing of inconueniencis, We haue thocht expedient þat 3e, and our coufing þe Erle of Arroile, convene þe hale fchyre þe gidder in Dundie, and to gif attendance þerupone, and hes fend 3ow lettres to þat effect; Praying 3ow þat 3e be deligent in conveyng of þe cuntrie, and await in þe town of Dundie vpone þe faid navy, quhill intelligence may be gottin of þer purpos; as 3e luif þe wele of our dereft dochter and hir realme, and will do ws verray hie feruice, and grete plesour in þat behalf. And God kepe 3ow. At Edinburgh þe xxvj day of Junij.

La bion. str.
11/11/11/18

To our traight coufing
the Lorde Gray.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray. There is no year given in this order, but it may, probably, be assigned to 1557, when 'pis geire in July, Hother Tranberne comes ambassador from the Ladey Anna, Duchesse of Oldenburghe, Vestfrisland, and Delamahurst, to Scotland, and concludes a peace with this crowne for 100 geires.'—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 306.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAST COUSING, efter hartlye commendatioun; nochtwithstanding of þe gude report hes bene maid to ws of 3ow, 3eit We ar verray blyith to fe be 3our lettres þe intire affectioun 3e haue evir had to our vmquhill Moperis seruice and ours, and is nocht vnknawing to ws þe contentement sche had of 3ow, with þe gud will to maik 3ow knaw þe samyn, quhairas We will haue na les of our part, traisting 3e will continew 3our gude affectioun, and þe condigne offices 3e haue vfit, induring thir trubles, amangis 3our freyndes, to continew pame in thair dewtie and obedience aucht to ws; Praying 3ow to gif nowþer fauour nor cenfouir to na thing bot to [quhat] 3e beleue be conform to our intentions; quhairof 3e fall evir be aduertist, as þe maters fall succeid in thir partis, of þe quhilks We pray 3ow aduertis ws of 3our advis, be frequent vriting. Sua We pray God preferue 3ow. At St Germaines, þe aucht day of October.²

*Zon r gnd freinde
marie*

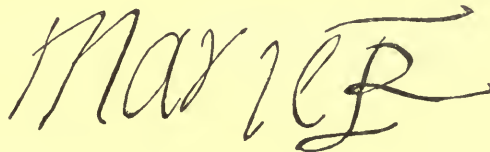
To our coufing the
Lord Gray.

From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² This letter must have been written in Oct. 1560, as Mary of Guise died in June of that year, and Queen Mary returned to Scotland in August 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK, FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, We grete zow weill. Oure perliament, quhilk wes appointid to haue bene haldin þe ferd day of Februar instant, is be ws continewit vnto þe xij day of Merche nixtocum; and leift ze mycht be ignorant of þe faid continewatioun, and thairthrow absent zour selff fra cuming to oure faid parliament, We haue thocht gud, be þis oure lettre, to put zow in remembrance of þe faid continewatioun, and to desire and pray zow effectiouflie þat ze will nocht fail to be at ws in oure burgh of Edinburgh þe ferd day of þe faid moneth of Merche, for zour avys and opinioun to be had in sic things as ar to be treatid in oure faid perliament; As ze will do ws acceptabill seruice and plesour in þat be halff. Subscriuit with oure hands, at oure palice of Halirudhous, þe xxij day of Februar, 1565.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Mary II'.

To our traist coufing,
the Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, We greit 3ou weill. The baptisme of our dearest sone the Prince wilbe schortlie, and pat in Streueling, quhairvnto the Ambafatours of the gretast Princes in Christandome will resort, and than it is maist neidfoull that we be honorabillie accompanyt, 3e will here of the tyme and dyett; quhilk we pray 3ow effectuuflie addres 3ou to keip, apparellit in sic honest maner as the tyme and occasioun cravis, according to the estait of your hous; ffor 3e will not agane in many 3eiris haue the like thyng in hand; and heirintill 3e will do ws maist thankfull seruice and plesfour. Subscriuit with our hand, at Crammald,² the xvj day of August, 1566.

MARIE R.

To our traist coufing,
the Lord Gray etc.

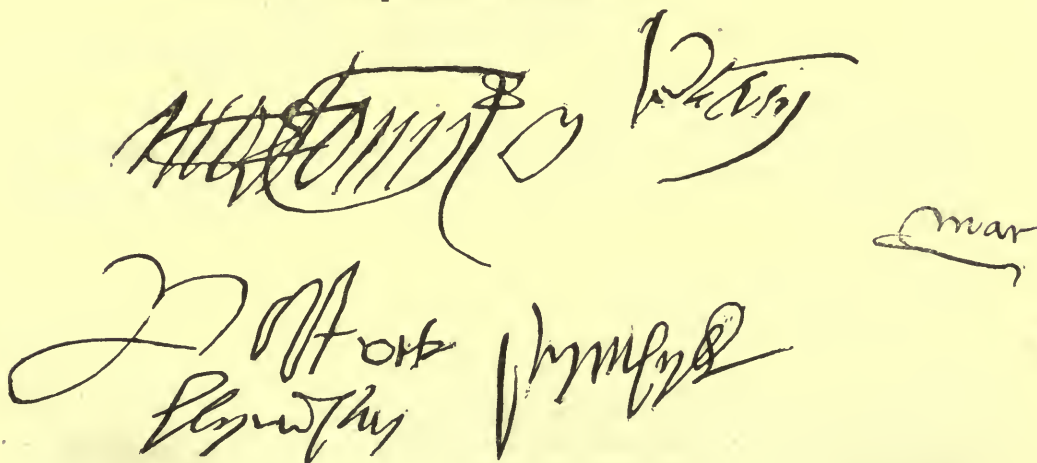
¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

² Crammald, or Cranalt, now Meggetland, is situated in Peebles-shire.

EARL OF MORTON, AND OTHER LORDS, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, eftir maift hertlie commendationes: It is refoluit to difpatche ROBERT, Commendatare of Dunfermling,² towards the Quene of England, with fic a lettir and credit as your Lordship may perfaue: And becaus the fame wilbe þe mair honorable, and haue the grettar auctoritie, the mor Noblemen and of the Eftatis that fubfcriue it, we haue fend the lettre and instructionis to your Lordship to be fubfcriuit, prayand your Lordship to fubfcriue the fame, that þe berar may returne thairwith howfome may be, becaus the fonar the difpatche be maid, the fonar will we reffaue refolution. And fen the neceffitie of this Commoun weill cravis the fame, we doubt not bot your Lordship wilbe willing to the furtherance and expedition thairrof. And fua for the prefent we commit your Lordship in the protection of God. At Edinburgh the xx day of Marche, 1569.

Your Lordships affured freindis,



To my lord, my Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² Robert Pitcairn.

MATHEW, EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT, TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,
AFTERWARDS SIXTH LORD GRAY.¹

RICHT TRAIST COUSING, efter maist hertlie commendatioun, We vnderstand that thair is ane irne zetling,² apprehendit in the Forth of Bruchtie, the tyme of the wyning perof, now in your hous of Bruchty, quhairwith we haue presentlie to do for the Kingis seruice; and pairfoir, we desyr you effectuuilie; that ye will not fail to caus deliuer the said irne zetling, with sic furnitour as she hes ganand for hir, to the berair heirop, to be transportit to Leyth, as we haue appointit; quhairin ye fall declair your gude affectioun to the Kingis seruice, and will speciall and gude plesour. Thus we committ you in the protectioun of God. At Striueling, the last day of August, 1571.

Your assurit freind,



And efter the present seruice be done, the same pece shalbe deliuerit to you agane, for we are constrenit to charge all freindis quhair ordinance is at this tyme.

To our richt traist coufing,
the Maister of Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² The following entry appears in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, as the expense of transporting this piece of ordnance and other amunition to Leith:—'Oct. 1571. Item to Robert Gardnar gunnar, for expens maid be him in passing to Perth, Dundie, Bruchtie, and vpers partis, for bringing of ane irne pece, bullettis, and bying of bullettis, tymmer, and boit fraucht to the schoir and peir of Leith, hors hire and feis; as ane compt given in be the said Robert, and subscriuit with his hand, schawin and product vpon compt beirs, xxvli iij s iij d.

DISCHARGE, KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

REX.

WE, be the tenour heirof, giueis and grantis to Patrick Maister of Gray, an full dischairdge of all gould, jowells, claithing, or any vther our menagerie, quhatfumeuer quherwith he haid intromiffioun, be reafoun of his office of Maister of our Gardrob;² and exoneris, quytclamis, and frely dischairdges the said Maister of the fame for ever; in respect, in prefence of our selfis, he hes maid to the Auditoris of our Eschequer an cleir compt of all his intromiffioun, quhilk ve allou be thir presents. Subscryuit vith our hand at Holyrudhous, the 15 of December, 1586.

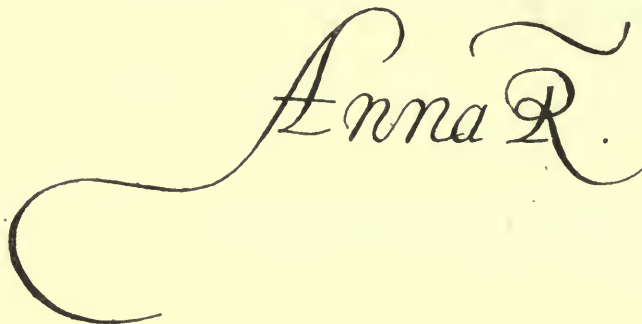


¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² The Master of Gray was Master of the King's Wardrobe in June 1585, and it seems he resigned the office on his being appointed Ambassador to England in December 1586. He appears, from the following entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, to have again held that office in 1595: 'August, 1595.—Item be his Hienes speciall comand delyverit to Patrik Master of Gray, Master of the Garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Prince's claithes, viij li.'

QUEEN ANNA TO MARY STEWART, MISTRESS OF GRAY.¹

TREST COUSINGNESS, We greit yow hartlyie weill. The tyme now approaching of our entryie within Dundie, and confidring also how necessarye it is for our estate to be honorablye convoyed, we have thought expedient, be thir lynes, to requeist yow to accompanye ws in that iornay; and to that effect we defyre yow to attend vpon ws in the toune of Saint Jhonston, the xj of this instant, quhairby ze fal do ws maist acceptable plesour. Thus, trusting to the fulfilling of our defyre, we committ yow to God. Fra Falkland, the vj of September, 1597.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anna R.". The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping flourish that extends from the bottom of the "A" and curves under the "R".

To our Right trest coufingness,
the Maistres of Gray.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

With lovingest regards we greet you last night well. We have
approaching of our only child in Dundee and considering all
for ourselves it is for our estate to be somewhat anxious
we have thought expedient to request you to
accompany us in that journey and to that effect we
you to attend upon us in the name of James Esq. son
of the instant family we shall do our utmost acceptable
please God wishing to see fulfilling of our desire
we commit you to God for all hand to us of
1897

Anna R

To our Right Hon. lovingest
the Master of Gray
— — —

I Landst That same micht I Left you last at
 end hours and ver in danger amongst the Craigis
 and never in my Left so sek. How I mete J^{tho},
 mas Hendryson of Edmb: he has no news save of
 Theorte of Gourges death, he tells it in the same
 sorte as ye have herd it. Ther is execute m^r J^{tho}:
 Grantoun and George Craigingelt & John Boners men of
 St Thomsdoun. They are executed for that they
 found to be in armes befor the rest. His man the
 ver I have in bootill m^r Willm Dynd, and he
 depaird no thing save that my Lord Statil mayster
 Italie and frame and heel spiritus. His chamber
 Lane we should have flame the king is yet
 heigh. M^r. Patrick Gallonay has preacht all this
 in the pulpit of Edmb. Boke of the magic and
 treasurie, bot all we are dead confess no thing
 the k. after the preaching Inver solemnly that
 all ver even he had preacht by his salvation
 and Condemnation. The rest of the ministers ver
 preacht to subtervne that it ver true, bot they
 refusit yet they grantit to thank god for his
 ma^{ny} deliverance: and so they are banisht. Richard
 pretoun is at Loundoun, bot as yet I have not
 heird they say to him from London ye shall
 Dover: 28 Apr. heir at. And I remaine your loving friend
 and Cousin. Gray.

I forgot a moughl when I signit that m^r Gallonay preacht that Theorte
 of Gouges was a double butnone the Pope and the King ma: but the
 rest of the ministers will not believe him.

LETTER FROM PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY.¹

SIR, I landit that fame nicht I left you lait at eicht houris, and ves in danger amongst the Craiges, and never in my lyf so feik. Heir I mete vith Thomas Hendryfone of Edinb.; he hes no neues faue of th'Earll of Gouryes death. He tellis it in the fame forte as ye haue hard it. Ther is execute Mr Th. Cranstoun and George Craigingelt, vith sevin honest men of St Johnstoun. They ar executed for that they ver fund to be in armes befor the rest. His man vho ves vith him is boottit, Mr Villiam Rynd, and hes deponit no thing, faue that my Lord studiit magik in Italie and France, and hed sprittis. His chamberlane, vho should haue flaine the King, is yet keipit. Mr Patrik Gallouay hes preatchit all this in the pulpit of Edinb., bothe of the magic and treafoun, bot all vho ar dead confessit no thing. The King efter the preatching fueir solemnelly that all ves treu he hed preatchit, by his saluation and condemnation. The rest of the minifters ves preassit to subscryue that it ves treu, bot they refusit; yet they grantit to thank God for his Maiesties delyuerence: and so they ar banisit. Richart Prestoun is at Lonndoun, bot as yet I knou not vhat they say to him. From Londoun ye shall heir all: And I remaine your louing freind and coufing,

GRAY.

Dover, 28 Sept.

1600.

I forgot amongst vther thingis that Mr Gallouay preatchit, that th'Earle of Goury ves a dealler betuene the Pope and the Kings Maiestie, bot the rest of the minifters vill not beleue him.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. The address of this letter is carefully obliterated.

SUMMONS TO PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY, TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT.¹

EFTER our verie hairtlie commendationis to your gude Lordship, It has plesit the Kingis Maiestie, for some wechtie and grit considerationis, to appoint and ordane ane new Conventioun of the Nobilitie, Counsell, and Estaittis of this kingdome, to be assemblit heir at Edinburgh, vpoun the aucht day of August nixtcome, to consult, treat, and deliberat, vpoun sic materis as at that tyme salbe proponit and appynit vp vnto thame; and thairfor, according to his Maiesteis speciall directioun, We haue heirby thocht meit to requeist and desyre your Lordship effectuouslie, that ze faill not, all excuissis sett asyde, to be heir vpoun the sevint day of the said moneth of August nixt, to the effect ze may be preparit vpoun the morne thairefter to convene with the remanent of the Estaittis, and to confer, auyse, consult and vote, in sic thingis as at that tyme salbe proponit. And sua, resting assured of your preceis keping of this dyett, as ze respect his Maiesteis obedience and seruice, we committ your Lordship to God. Frome Edinburgh the xix day of Junij, 1605.

Your Lordships goode freindis,

Wm. B. Comptroller.

Al: Cancellr.

Secret

To our very goode Lord,
the Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

WARRANT IN FAVOUR OF PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

WE, wnderfubfcriveand of his Majesteis counfall of Scotland, conforme to his Majesteis warrand, haveing fichtit and confiderit the fowmeis of money addettit be his Majestie to Patrik Maifter of Gray, Findis the famin to [amount] to the fowme of Nynteine thowfand nyne hundrethe fourfcoir thrie pundis iiij ſ xj d money of Scotland: Quhilk fowme, conforme to his Majesteis warrand, We will and defyre ſow, Daud Lord of Scone, his Majesteis Comptroller of Scotland, to pay and delyver to the faid Maifter of Gray, and that of the radiest of ſowr intromiffioun in the faid office: Quhairanent his Majesteis warrand fairfaid, with thir presentis, and the faid Maifteris difcharge, fall be fufficient allowance to ſou at ſour comptis making. Subfcriveit with our handis, at Perth, the elle-vint day of Julij, 1606.

MONTROISS COMMISSIONAR.

AL. CANCELL^s.

DOUNBAR.

J. SECRET^s.

S. T. HAMILTON.

¹ From the original, preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF GRAY, EXTRACTED FROM THE ACCOUNTS
OF THE LORDS HIGH TREASURERS OF SCOTLAND, FROM
THE YEAR 1529 TO THE YEAR 1602.

Nov. 24, 1529. Item, to William Cristefon, messinger, þat past to þe Lord Gray,¹ with directions of þe Lordis of Secrete Counsal, xx š.

Sept. 7, 1532. Item, to ane boy to rynn furth of Sanctiohnestoun, with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, in Fowlis, for money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, ... xx đ.

Sept. 24. Item, þe xxiiij day of September, to ane boy to rynn to þe Lord Gray, for money awand to þe Kingis Grace, and for ane rentall of þe Erle of Craufurd's propertie, ... viij š.

Nov. 12. Item, lettres depeschit furth of Falkland, be Maister George Cuke, to þe Bischope of Sanctandrois, þe Lord Gray, &c., for ane conventioun to be had in Edinburgh, ... xl š.

Junij 13, 1533. Item, to ane man þat raid furth of Sanctiohnestoun to Fowlis to þe Lord Gray, to caus him put þe Lard of Powreis gudis vnder fens, for þe slauchter of Thomas Fotheringhame, ... iij š.

Item, to ane boy to pas furth of Striueling to þe Lord Gray, with writtingis for the Lard of Powreis eschete, ... v š.

July 21. Item, þe xxj day of July to Cuthbert George, m. to pas to inbring dettis owing be Gilbert Gray² and vperis in Angus, ... xx š.

Aug. 31. Item, to Dauid Dronane, to pas with lettres chargeing þe Lord Gray to content to our Souerane Lord, or his Thesaurer, þe soume of iiij^c merkis within vj daies, vnder þe pane of rebelloun, ... x š.

Sept. 8. Item, to ane messinger to pas with þe Kingis wrytingis to þe Erle Rothes and Lord Gray for þe Conventioun, ... x š.

Nov. 28. Item, þe xxviiij day of Nouember, to James Murray, messinger, to pas to the Lord Gray, to inbring certane sowmes of money awand to þe Kingis Grace to the Thesaurer, ... xx š.

¹ Patrick, fourth Lord Gray.

² Probably Gilbert Gray of Buttergask.

Dec. 17. Item, þe xvij day of December, to Andro Mefar, meffinger, to pas with clois writingis to þe Erlis Rothois, Montros and Lord Gray, xx š.

Jan. 2. Item, to Cuthbert George, meffinger, þe fecund day of Januar, to pas to þe Lord Gray, for certane money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, x š.

Aug. 28, 1534. Item, to William Duncane, meffinger, to pas to charge þe Lord Gray to cum againe to þe Chekker, xiiij š.

Merche, 1536. Item, þe samyn day to Bute purfevant, to pas with ficlik lettres to the Bifchopis of Sanctandrois and Brechen, Lordis Gray, &c. (for þair honest prepareing agane þe Kingis Graces hamecuming etc.) xl š.

April, 1537. Item, to Carrik purfevant, for his expensis passing to all partes on þe fey coift to caus þe marynaris þat fuld pas in France with þe fchippes, cum to Leith and rellaue þair wagis, ...

Item, to ane boy for passing with ficlik writingis to Sir Johne Campbell, and to þe Lord Gray, to caus þair men within Angus cum, v š.

Julij. Item, to Johne Paterfoun, for his expensis passing with lettres to fummond ane affise to be on þe Lord Ruthvennis inqueft, and vþeris, for þe oppreffioun done to Alexander Gray of Ballegarno,¹ xxxiiij š.

Aug. Item, deliuerit to William Hardy, meffinger, for passing with þe Kingis lettres to Dundè, till mak inhibitioun be oppin proclamatioun, þat nane by þe Lord Grayis landis, &c. xxviiij š.

June 20, 1541. Item, þe xx day of Junij, gevin to Johnne Cobe, to pas in Angus, and charge Patrik Gray,² to deliuer þe Lord Grayis evidents, and all vþeris, be opin proclamatioun, ... xxij š.

July 6. Item, gevin to Patrik Thomsoun, for his expensis passing to Angus to arrest þe Grayis geir, and inbringing of dettis, ... xxx š.

Jan. 24, 1543. Item, þe xxxiiij day of Januar, to ane boy fend furth of Striueling with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to þe Lord Gray

¹ The Grays of Ballegarno were descended of Andrew Gray, son of the first Lord Gray.

² Patrik Gray of Buttergask, afterwards fifth Lord Gray. This and the following entry appear to refer to the subject of the letter by King James V., printed in the Appendix, p. iv.

in þe Blaknes,¹ and ane other to þe Abbot of Dunnfermling, and for his travell, and with þe anfer agane to Sanct Johnstoun, ... v š.

Jan. 27. Item, to ane boy fend furth of Dundè to þe Blaknes with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, ... v š.

Jan. 31. Item, þe samyn day to ane other boy fend furth of Aberbrothok with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernoris to þe Blaknes for my Lord Gray, ... v š.

Oct. 25, 1544. Item, þe xxv day of October, to Adam Foreman, mafer, direct to Sanct Johnstoun to tak assurance betuyx my Lōrd Gray and the Laird of Cragy, ... xl š.

Nov. 25, 1546. Item, þe samyn day John Forfythe, messinger, letteris to poinde for certane vnlawes in Angus; togidder with clofit writtings to þe Lordes Gray, Ogilweye, &c. xxx š.

Merche 13. Item, to Barre, messinger, clofit writtings of my Lord Gouvernours, directt to my Lorde Gray in Angus, ... xiiij š.

July 1, 1547. Item, to Mr Johnne Forfythe letteris of proclamatioun directt to Cowper, and all þe townnes vpoun þe coist fyde, chairgeing þame þat þai fuld remaine vpoun þe coist fyde, nochtwithstanding þe rumor ryflyn of þe departing of þe Inglishe schippes; and þat þai keip þair dyet to conveine at Peblis the xij day of July instant; togidder with missivis to all þe gentillmen of Fyfe to keip þe samyn, ... xxx š.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklik myssives to þe Abbot of Lundores, Lordes Glammys, Gray, Ogilweye, &c. xxx š.

Aug. 23. Item, xxij^o Augusti, my Lord Gouvernouris Grace and Counsale being surely advertist þat þe army of Ingland wes^e at handis, To Mathew Stratherne, messinger, letteris of proclamatioun, with þe fire croce to Kincardine, Aberdene, &c.; and billis agane to the Erllis of Huntlie, Arrore, and Maister of Forbes.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklike letteris, with the fire croce, to Fyfe and Forfair, with billis to þe Erllis of Rothes, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c.

Dec. Item, my Lord Gouvernour and my Lord of Dunkeld being in Perth, hyrit tua horfs, and fend with gawillockes, pikes and mattokis, to

¹ Patrick fifth Lord Gray. He appears to have been at this time warded in Blackness Castle.

haue affailyeit þe hous of Huntlie, in cais þe samyn had nocht bene randerit to þame, ix dayes wages, ilk horse vpoun þe day iij š; summa, lvj š.

Item, to Dauid Dog and Williame Thekar, mafones and quariouris fend with þame, ... iiijl. x š.

Item, be his Graces commande, to Dauid Dog to pas to Huntlie to bear his expensis, ... v l.

Dec. 18. Item, xvij Decembris, to Johne Hart, messinger, letteris direct, chargeing certane perfonis within þe Lord Grayes houffes of Huntlie to deliuer þe same to þe Tutour of Petcur and Laird of Inchemertyne, to be kept be him to þe Quenis Grace behufe; and letteris to þe said Tutor to ressaue þe same.

Item, to ane other boy fend to Perth to my Lorde Dunkeld with summondis of tressoun rasit vpoun þe Lord Gray, ... x š.

Dec. 31. Item, to Sir Johnne Mortimar direct furth of Edinburgh, with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to my Lord Gray, xlv š.

Januar. Item, þe tyme of my Lorde Grayis entrè in waird within þe Castell of Edinburgh, boucht foure lokes to be hung vpoun foure durris within þe said castell, ... xx š.

Apr. 1558. Item, þe ix day of Aprile, to Alexander Cunnyngnam, messinger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces of þe sherefdomes of Forfair and Kincardine, chargeing all and findrie erlis, lordis, baronis, and frehalderis, etc., That þai, weill bodin in feir of weir, address þame to cum forwartis, and be in þe townis of Dunfs and Langtoun þe xvij day of Aprile instant, with xv dais victualis efter þair cumming, vnder þe pane of tinsale of life, landis and guidis, etc. Togidder with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erle Mercheale, Craufurde, Lordis Gray and Innermaith, and to þe effect foirsaid, lv š.

Aug. 1561. Item, þe vij day of August, to Peter Craik, messinger, passand of Edinburgh with clois writtings of þe Lordis of Secreit Counsale, to þe Erle of Rothes, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. to be in Edinburgh with þair honorable cumpaneis to þe Queins Grace enteres furth of France, agane þe last day of August, ... xl š.

Item, þe thrid day of December, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with ane clois writting of the Queins Grace to my Lord Gray, . . . ix š.

Marche 8, 1561. Item, þe said day Williame Logane, messinger, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres to charge Johne Ogiluy of Innerkeilour to mak payment of þe sowe of xxxiiij l̄ vj s̄ viij d̄, as caution and fouertie for Agnes Gray, Ladie of Restalrig,¹ xx s̄.

Aug. 1562. Item, þe secund day of August, to Johne Paterfone, herauld, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces within þe sheresdomes of Forfare and Kincardin, chargeing all and fundrie erlis, lordis, barones, landit men and frehalderis within þe saidis bounds, that thai, with pair freinds and substantius houshald men, addres pame to meit our Souerane Ladie at Abirdene þe xxiiij day of August instant, and pair to await for þe space of ane moneth. Togidder with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merfcheale, Craufurde, Lordis Glammis, Gray, and Innermaith, to þe effect foirsaid, iij l̄.

Item, þe said xix day of October, to ane boy passand of Abirdene, with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to the Abbote of Cowpar, Lordis Glammis, Gray, &c. xxvj s̄.

May 6, 1565. Item, þe said day to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merfchell, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c. xxxiiij s̄. iij d̄.

Sept. 2. Item, þe secund day of September, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erlis of Craufurde, Errole, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. xl s̄.

Jan. 30. Item, þe said day to Robert Skart, post, passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erle of Mar, Lord Gray, &c. xxiiij s̄.

Aprile 14, 1568. Item, þe said day to twa boyis passand of Edinburgh at fundrie tymes, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Lord Gray, ... xxx s̄.

May. Item, þe first day of Maij, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lordis Gray, &c. concerning þe affaris of my Lord Ambassadour of France, . . . iij l̄.

¹ She was the daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray, and married, first, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig; secondly, Alexander fifth Lord Home; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, High Treasurer of Scotland.

Aprile 27, 1569. Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writting of my Lord Regentis Grace to my Lord Gray, ... xiiij s̄ iiij d̄.

Sept. 23. Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Ladie Gray,¹ xx s̄.

Aug. 1571. Item, the ferd day of August, to ane boy passand of Leyth, with clois writtings of my Lord Regentis Grace to the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, &c. x l̄.

March 1572. Item, þe last day of Merche, to Andro Annand, massenger, passand with lettres of Leith, to charge Patrik Lord Gray, James Crychtoun of Ruthvenn, to compeir befor my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counsil, the tent day of Aprile nixtocum, to ansuer to sic thingis as fould be laid to þair charge. Togidder with lettres to charge James Lord Ogilvy to departe of þis cuntrie, conforme to his licence, betuix and þe first day of Maij nixtocum, with certificatioun, etc. vj l̄.

May 14. Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Leith, with clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Erles Craufuird, Merfchell, Buchane, Lords Glammiss and Gray, ...

Februar 28. Item, for expenssis maid be Gawin Ramfay, messenger, vpoun certane taskaris in threshing of þe cornis in Gogar, perteing to Dame Agnes Gray, Lady Home, hors hyris in carieing of þe same to Edinburgh, hous maill, custome, and vther small chargeis; as ane compt subseriuit be þe said Gawin, produceit vpoun compt, beris, xvj l̄. xj s̄. ij d̄.

Marche 1, 1573. Item, þe said day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writing of my Lord Regents Grace to þe Lord Gray, xvj s̄.

Feb. 1581. Item, remittit and dischargit be his Maiesties precept, to his Hienes rycht traist coufing and counsalor, Efme Duicke of Levinox, Erle Dernlie, etc. the compositioun of the escheit of James Gray,² sone lauchfull to Patrick Lord Gray, as the said precept producit vpoun compt beris, ... 1^c lib.

¹ Marion, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy of Airly.
Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

² James Gray, fourth son of

1582. Item, the third of September, to ane boy passand with clois lettres to Lordis Ogilvie, Gray, and Innermeith, &c. iiij l. vj s. viij d.

Junij 1585. Item, deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray, master of his Hienes gairdrobe, xlvij elnis of small Holand clayth, to be scheittis to his Maiestie, price of the eln, inde j^cxx li

Sept. 1585. Item, be his Hienes precept to his traift coufing and counsailour, Patrik Master of Gray, the compositionis of the signatouris following, for furnessing of his Hienes claythis, for the quhilk the Master of Gray suld be comptable. That is to say, the maillis, fermes, and dewties of the landis of Restenneth, xxvj lib. xij s. iiij d.; the escheat of Robert Guthrie of Lunane, disponit to James Gray, bruther to the said Maister of Gray, xl l.; ane remissioune to George Erle of Merfchell, etc. ij^m l.; the escheat of Gawane Carmichaell, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane respect to Stevin Burntfeild, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane remissioune to Thomas Home, xij l. vj s. viij d. The escheit of Lovell of Balumby, iiij^c l. Omittis vntane allowance of in þe last compt of the lxxxiiij, the composition of þe discharge grantit be his Hienes to Johne Burntfeild, and certane vtheris, as cautioneris for him, of þe pane and vnlaw quherin they wer adiudgit j^cxxxij l. vj s. viij d.; and als reffaut be the said Patrik fra Sir Robert Meluille of Mordecairnie, knight, Thesaurare depute, ane hundreth crounis, at l s. þe pece, extending in þe haill to the soun of vj^m. viij^c lxxxx l.

Oct. Item, be his Maiesties speciale command, to ane servand of the Master of Grayes, in drink siluer, at þe presenting of ane hors callit Blacklegis to his Hienes, twa crounis, at l s. þe pece, inde, ... v l.

Item, be his Maiesties precept to Griffell Hamiltoun, his Hienes semstare, for the furnessing of certane wark and necessaris deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray to his Maiesties vse, as the famin is productit vpoun compt beris, ... j^cxx l.

Dec. Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow, with clois lettres to Patrik Master of Gray, Commendatare of Dunfermeling, Commendatare of Culros, Lord Gray,¹ &c., ... iiij l. xj s.

¹ Patrick sixth Lord Gray.

Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow with a clois lettre to Dunfermeling to be Master of Gray, ... xiiij š. iiij đ.

May 1586. Item, the Comptare aucht to be discharged of the foun of thre thousand thre hundreth threttie thre pundis, sex schillings aucht pennies, refaut be Patrik Master of Gray fra the Provest of Lynclouden, becaus the comptar has chargit him perwith, vj^m. iiij^cxxxiiij ł. vj š. viij đ.

The Master of Gray grantit the resait of this sowme.

Feb. 1587. Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letters to be Lordis Gray and Sinclair, &c., ...

Oct. 1590. The Comptar aucht to be dischargit of be sowmes of money underwritten, whereof a part receiued by his Maiestie. Lykwayis be his Maiestie be compositioun of the escheat and lyfrent of Patrik Lord Gray, extending to iiij^cxl ł.

Nov. 1592. Item, to John Henderfon, messenger, and ane trumpetour with him passand to be mercat-croce of Edinburgh, to proclame fummonds of tressoun agains Patrik Master of Gray, &c., to compear in be parliament to be halden in the tolbuthe of Edinburgh, in the moneth of Januare nixt, to answer, etc., ... xiiij ł vj š. viij đ.

June 1593. Item, to Niniane Weir, messenger, passand to Edinburgh, with lettres to command and charge James Gray, sone lauchfull to Patrik Lord Gray, to exhibite and produce Margaret Carnegie, personallie befor his Maiestie and Lordes of Secret Counsale, vpoun the xxj day of Junij instant, vnder the pane of rebelloun, after the forme and tenour of the saidis lettres, ... v ł.

Feb. 1594. Item, to William Scot, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Lord Gray, and Patrik Maister of Gray, Sheref principall of Forfare; as alsua all and findrie be barrownis and laudit men duelland to landwart within the boundis of be said sherfdome, and be provest, bailies, counfall and communitie of Dundie, to demolishe, and caus be demolishehit, the place, hous, and fortalice of Craig, betuix and the tent day of Merche nixtocum, vnder the pane of rebelloun, v ł.

May 1595. Item, to John Bannatyne, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to command and charge Lodouik Duke of Lennox, Archibald Erle of Argyle, John Erle of Mar, the Constable of Dundie, the lairds of Towcht, Sauchy, and Langschaw, as cautioners on be ane parte: John

Erle of Athol, Patrik Maister of Gray, James Gray his brother, Thomas Stewart of Garntulie, James Stewart of Touchis, Mr Patrik Quhytlaw of Newgrange, his cautioners on þe vther parts; Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, knyght, John Murray of Polmais, John Erskyne of Balgonie, his cautioners; William Schaw of Knokhill, the laird of Sauchy his cautioner; the laird of Merchaitoun eldare and younger; to enter and present certane of þe M^cGregors and other broken men of þe Hielandis, to compeir and vnderly ordour anent peace and quietnes, . . . xv l. vj s. viij d.

August 1595. Item, be his Hienes speciall command delyverit to Patrik Maister of Gray, maister of the garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Princes claithis, ... viij l.

Dec. 1595. Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois lettres to the Erle Merfchell, Lord Gray and Spynie, the Maister of Gray, vj l.

Nov. 1596. Item, to ane uther boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letteris to the Erle of Rothes, Lordis Lindsay, Gray, Constable of Dundy, Lairdis of Balweiry, Lundy, Eister and Wester Weymis, Torrie, and Bonyntoun, for wyld meit and veniesoun to the baptisme of the Princes, and to cum and tak part thair of thame selfis the xxvij of this instant, v l.

May 1598. Item, to John Downy, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray, sheref of Forfair, to compeir afoir the Counfall the viij day of Junij nixt, to ansuer vpoun his diligence in the execution of the commissioun grantit to him aganis Patrik Lord Gray, Alex. Lawder of Vmoquhie, Henrie Futhie of Boysak, and certane vthers rebellis within the boundis of his office, vnder the pane of rebelloun, v l.

Oct. 1599. Item, to Walter Forsyth, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edinburgh and peir of Leith, and thairat be oppin proclamacioun sumonding Alexander Lord Home and Patrik Maister of Gray, vpone lx dayis warning, to compeir befoir þe Lordis of Sessioun, and heir declaratour gevin on thair lyverentis, ... xx s.

Item, to George Cuninghame, officer in þat part, passand with þe samin lettres to sumond þe said Patrik Maister of Gray at þe mercat croce of Forfar and his duelling hous of Huntlie, ... iij l.

Jan. 1600. Item, to Richart Bowmaker, sheriff in that part, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to summond Patrik Lord Gray, Johne Ogilvie

of Innerquhartie, and Thomas Lyoun of Cossuns, to compeir befor þe Lords of Seffioun the xxv of Februar nixt, to heir declaratour pronuncit on thair escheit and lyverentis, ... iiij l.

Aprile. Item, to William Baxter, sheriff in þat pairt, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to summond Robert Logane of Listarik, Maistres Marie Stewart, spous to Patrik Maister of Gray, and the said Patrik Maister of Gray, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, peir and schoir of Leith, and mercat croce of Forfar, to compeir befor the Lords of Seffioun to heir þame decernit to pay the foume of xij^e merks, etc. iij l.

Aprile 1602. Item, to ane boy passand of Brechin with clois lettres to the laird of Poury Fotheringhame, . . . Dowglas, dochter to the Erle of Angus, and Jeane Gray, dochter to the Maister of Gray, . . . xx s.

Dec. Item, to William Forfyth, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray to pas and entir his persoun in wairde in the place of Huntlie, within thrie dayis, vnder the paine of rebelloun, ... v l.

